

Highlights



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FOCUS

U.S. invites S. Africans to visit

By June Goodwin

Johannesburg
Increasing numbers of South Africans, mostly blacks, are visiting the United States on trips paid by the U.S. Government.

American concern about the trend toward violence in South Africa has prompted a beefing up of the cultural-exchange program under which foreigners visit the U.S. for varying lengths of time. The idea is to promote international understanding, and, in the case of blacks, to boost their confidence by increasing their experience.

In 1972 the International Visitors Program provided 20 South Africans free 30- to 40-day trips across the United States. In 1977 about 45 South Africans will have this opportunity.

The budget for such trips this year is approximately double that for 1976.

Until this year Nigeria was the biggest participant in the African part of the cultural-exchange program. But now, South Africa is the largest, according to the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria.

Some students are given a year's scholarship to study in the U.S. This year 14 South

Africans, all black, may find themselves in American universities. The State Department has a contract with the Institute of International Education in New York to place the students.

Last week four residents of Soweto, the black township outside Johannesburg where riots erupted last June, were awarded trips. Ranging from journalists to the assistant director of the African Music and Drama Association, they will travel to the U.S. in April under the program, called Operation Crossroads.

Most whites nominated for U.S. trips (there are no applications) are concerned with civil rights in South Africa. Some observers argue that more whites, especially staunch nationalists such as members of the secretive Afrikaner cultural society, the Broederbond, should be invited to the U.S. to broaden their view of black-white relations there.

Colored (mixed race) trade-union leader Ronnie Webb said that he had observed how a trip to the U.S. had derailed one prominent Afrikaner's political career.

But others argue that for such a trip to

have any effect, the recipient must go with an open mind. One nationalist returned to South Africa saying he was especially impressed with American Indian reservations, which, he said, resembled the South African tribal homelands that have come to be much criticized abroad.

Several blacks who have gone on State Department programs say it was difficult to fit back into South African society after the freedom of movement and thinking they experienced in the United States. They do not miss nothing; the problems that still exist in America, but, nonetheless, they often come back to South Africa more determined to change their own society.

Blacks have told this reporter that they know the U.S. Embassy had to fight hard to win approval of their passports from the South African Government.

In neighboring Namibia (South-West Africa), a territory ruled by South Africa since World War I, two people recently were refused passports. One was Daniel Tjengavro, publicity secretary for the internal branch of the South-West African People's Organization, the territory's most prominent liberation movement.

In a subtle way the U.S. exchange programs are shaping opinion in South Africa, because the trips usually are awarded to community leaders.

And Mr. Webb has urged that American blacks come to South Africa whenever they can. "It helps the whites get used to being with blacks," he said.

Bullock plan: workers on the board

By Francis Renny

London
Cloth shops should hang alongside the top hats, outside British boardrooms. There, in a cartoon image, you have the essence of a new plan to rejuvenate the fading industrial scene of Britain.

It was former Premier Harold Wilson who put the Bullock in the cloth shop — letting loose a committee of enquiry under the bluff fellow-Yorkshireman of that name, to see what it could do to realize the brave new dream of Industrial Democracy.

Heavily leaked to the press in advance of publication, the report declared that it had found a "widespread conviction" that Britain's problem was not a lack of native capacity so much as a failure to draw it out. The way to do

that since the unions have power, it is best to harness that power by giving it something constructive to do.

"Now is the time to provide scope for the growing power and unused capacities of organized labour, by giving them representation on the boards of large enterprises," says the report.

'The Deferential Society'

It goes on to remark that it is barely 30 years since we saw the passing of what it nicely calls "the Deferential Society" in which "ordinary working people" knew their place and rarely aspired to positions of power or authority. In the committee's view (or the majority of it) it just won't do any more for companies to be run on the basis that, in the last resort, the wishes of the shareholders must always prevail.

Lord Bullock seeks a balance between the interests of shareholders and employees. For if shareholders are staking their money on the company, the workers (who seldom have any money to spare for investment) are staking their livelihoods.

At first sight, fair, and even a little moving. But two questions remain to be answered: do the workers, as opposed to the professional union bosses, really want to get mixed up in running the company — as well as working for it? And will the system in fact rejuvenate British industry — rather than make it a political playground?

James Prior, Mrs. Thatcher's Shadow Employment Minister, says the Tories will judge the plan in terms of whether it increases efficiency and makes industry more competitive, attractive to more investment.

Businessmen's No

The reactions Mr. Prior is getting from businessmen add up to a furious, unanimous NO. For a start, there are some 6,000 company directors likely to be heaved off boards to make room for worker-directors. Union leaders like Technical and Managerial leader Clive Jenkins say many directors aren't fit to occupy their seats today, and that many employees are real experts.

But he admits that millions of pounds are going to have to be spent in training workers in real (as opposed to political) economics, including how to read accounts properly.

The Chief Executive of the chartered company secretaries institute, Barry Barker, says he is in favour of employees being gradually involved in decision-making; but the way Mr. Bullock envisages, management will be diminished, decisions will be subject to bargaining and delay, and even the trade unions will be



longer be able to represent their members effectively.

The Director General of the Confederation of British Industry, John Mellor, spoke even more roughly:

"Unless this report is challenged and discredited the corporate face of Britain will be changed irrevocably. The trade unions will control even more peaks of the economy. The report is not about participation, it is about political power."

The implied threat, which must worry Prime Minister Callaghan considerably, is that he drops the report into the deep freeze. He can say goodbye to his hopes of an optimistic British industry boosting employment and investment — and his own hopes of re-election. Participation, industrialists suspect, is just back-door socialization.

And certainly, there are grounds for seeing the Bullock Plan as payment to the more ambitious left-wing unions, and for the terrible child Tony Benn, for keeping quiet about allowing their medicine from that anti-bottle labelled Wage Restraint.

That may be how Harold Wilson saw it. It is hard to see how James Callaghan can find legislative time for the Plan, even if he wanted to — which he probably doesn't. But it stays on the party agenda, would he really want to fight an election on the unpopular slogan: "Still more power to the unions."

Europe

'Claustre affair': Chad's captives free at last

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Intervention by Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi was responsible for the release of French archaeologist Françoise Claustre, who was held captive for nearly three years by Muslim rebels in northern Chad, central Africa.

Libya reportedly provides the rebels with arms and material support.

Mrs. Claustre was kidnapped by the nomadic Touareg rebels in April, 1974, while she was on an archaeological expedition to the rocky, barren Tibesti region of Chad. Freed with her was her husband, Pierre, who was taken prisoner in August, 1975, when he was trying to obtain her release.

Mr. and Mrs. Claustre were handed over to Libyan authorities and taken to Tripoli, the Libyan capital. France sent a military plane to fetch them.

The "Claustre affair," which gained wide publicity here, was a long series of dashed hopes and frustrated plans.

The French press called it the longest sequestration of innocent hostages in this century.

The repeated failure of efforts to obtain the couple's release was a major embarrassment to the French Government. Many observers interpreted it as evidence that France's pro-

Arab foreign policy was not bringing concrete results. French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing received regular questions on Mrs. Claustre at his twice-yearly formal press conferences. In the end he spoke personally on the telephone with Colonel Qaddafi about the release.

Libya's ambassador in Paris delivered a message to the French President from the Libyan leader Jan. 31. He told reporters that Colonel Qaddafi had negotiated the Claustres' release personally "for humanitarian reasons."

Story of frustration

The story of the frustrating negotiations conducted by France over the past three years reflects the near-anarchy that prevails in rebellious regions of central Africa.

The French are believed to have delivered at least \$2 million in cash, supplies, arms, and ammunition to the Touareg rebels in 1975 in one abortive effort to buy the Claustres' release.

The secret French arms airlift nearly provoked a break in diplomatic relations with the Chad Government, which had a few months earlier seized power in a military coup. Chad demanded that France withdraw all its remaining troops from the former French colony, where they had once been used to suppress the northern rebellion.

One French negotiator, an Army officer who had served in the area, was executed by the rebels.

Reported hopes that the French President



UPI photo

Françoise Claustre (l) shakes hands with Qaddafi (r) upon her arrival in Libya

could bring Mrs. Claustre home last summer after a combined political and hunting trip to Africa were disappointed.

By that time, however, the Libyans had apparently agreed to help. In March, 1976, then-French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac visited Chad and reportedly won that government's acceptance of Libyan diplomatic intervention.

The Touaregs are an Arab people who resent the Chad Government, dominated by black river-bank dwellers from the south of Chad. At issue are things such as taxes, religion, and traditional Touareg independence.

During Mrs. Claustre's long captivity, journalists and filmmakers were sometimes allowed to visit the rebels' stronghold and to talk with her.

Life in the rocky desert was difficult for a European. Mrs. Claustre told one journalist: "Most often, I just live under a tree, in the middle of a few stones." Trees, however, were apparently a rare source of protection from the sun.

During the course of the negotiations, Mrs. Claustre was repeatedly threatened with execution.

Mondale paves the way to summit

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Vice-President Walter Mondale's five-nation European tour was generally well-received. European leaders found him well-briefed and an effective proponent of the new U.S. administration's viewpoints.

But as expected the trip was of mostly symbolic and preparatory value.

At a press conference in Paris before taking off for Tokyo, Mr. Mondale said:

"I am very, very pleased by the outcome of our talks. The personal relationships that exist simply could not be better than they are today."

But he declined to discuss details when asked what specific results had been obtained on such issues as the control of nuclear technology, international terrorism, the Middle East, the proposed economic summit, and France's strong pressure for landing rights for the supersonic airliner Concorde.

'Developing a consensus'

"He was so careful in his remarks," observed one French radio newscaster, "that he could have passed for Henry Kissinger."

Mr. Mondale took a more positive view. "We have gone far toward developing a consensus

on the key matters that will be involved in the [economic] summit," he said, "and we have commenced the crucial preparatory work." He emphasized that his trip was an "immediate and dramatic" demonstration to the United States' major allies of "the very high priority that President Carter and the American Government place on working cooperatively at the very highest level."

He insisted again that the government's "position in private will be the same as that expressed in public."

Two subjects which appeared to be of particular importance in his talks were American plans for economic recovery this year, and President Carter's recently announced hopes for strict controls on nuclear weapons.

Mr. Mondale said he gave French President Giscard d'Estaing a detailed briefing on Mr. Carter's economic package. He said the administration hopes it would bring increased opportunities for economies around the world. European experts have long argued that world economic recovery depends on a strong American recovery.

On Mr. Carter's proposals for a total nuclear test ban and the moves toward limitation of nuclear weapons, Mr. Mondale said he has reassured European leaders that they "do not reflect a change in our strategy of deterrence."

Warm response noted

Mr. Mondale praised France's decision to embargo future sales of technology which could provide other nations with a nuclear-weapons capability. He said his discussions concerning France's previous agreement to sell a nuclear fuel-reprocessing plant to Pakistan were too "sensitive" for him to divulge their contents.

The Vice-President said he had a "warm response" from Mr. Giscard d'Estaing on the suggestion that talks be opened toward the objective of limiting conventional arms sales which, he said, are diverting money needed for food and economic development in the poorer countries.

Mr. Mondale said he was carrying back messages for Mr. Carter from the French President on several topics, including the Middle East and the Concorde.

On France's release of suspected Palestinian terrorist leader Abu Daoud, Mr. Mondale said he "exchanged views" with the French President, diplomatic jargon meaning they agreed to disagree.



Mondale: buoyant after European tour

Leaders of divided Cyprus hold surprise meeting

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

For the first time since the independent Cyprus government split into separate Greek and Turkish factions in 1964, President Makarios has met Turkish-Cypriot leader Raouf Denktash in a surprise peace move in Nicosia.

In nearly three hours of talks — described by a United Nations spokesman in Nicosia as useful and friendly — in neutral territory near Nicosia's still closed international airport, they made a beginning at trying to end the long East Mediterranean crisis over Cyprus. For many years, Archbishop Makarios (the Greek Cypriot leader) and Mr. Denktash have been saying they had nothing to discuss.

U.S. President Carter's election-campaign promises to work for a just Cyprus solution have raised Greek and Greek-Cypriot hopes high. News leaks from persons close to both the Archbishop and Mr. Denktash have recently referred to the possibility of a compromise solution, giving the Greek-Cypriot refugees back some of their lost homes and the island a loose, bi-zonal government.

UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's Cyprus representative, Perez de Cuellar, helped arrange the meeting. It was the first important high-level contact since Greek and Turkish community talks broke off last May. No early announcement was made of further meetings.

Regardless of concrete results, the Makarios-Denkash meeting revived hope and interest here for a future negotiated solution to the Cyprus question. The problem has vexed United States relations with Greece and Turkey and complicated the other problems of the Middle East — especially since the 1974 coup by the former Greek dictator forced Archbishop Makarios temporarily out of Cyprus and

brought on the Turkish invasion and present occupation of 40 percent of the island.

Greek Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, who signed the original Cyprus independence treaties with Britain and Turkey in 1960, never fully approved of Archbishop Makarios's past intransigence toward Turkish-Cypriot claims. But since returning to power here in a restored Greek democracy as a result of the Cyprus drama in 1974, Mr. Karamanlis has been careful to avoid the kind of pressure or interference with Archbishop Makarios exercised by the pre-1974 dictatorship.

Mr. Karamanlis's political foes on the right and left in Greece are now isolating him in the Parliament and the newspapers with not pushing the Cyprus issue energetically enough, and with divorcing it from other Greek-Turkish problems now under discussion — such as the dispute over Aegean Sea boundary and oil rights.

Mr. Denktash, who is self-proclaimed president of a Turkish-Cypriot tolerated republic in northern Cyprus (which only Turkey recognizes), has had difficulties with the Turkish government of Premier Suleyman Demirel, who faces elections this year and needs the support of two right-wing extremist political parties stubbornly opposed to any concessions in Cyprus.

A detailed report by the European Human Rights Commission upbraiding charges of murder, looting, rape, and other crimes against Turkish troops in northern Cyprus, leaked to the Sunday Times of London and published Jan. 23, has added to the European political concern over Cyprus, despite Turkish Government denials and efforts to get the Human Rights Commission to withdraw its Turkish commentators indicate they fear it will be harmful to Turkey's likelihood of obtaining eventual full membership in the European Community.

Europe

Soviet dissidents must tread rigid Kremlin line

By Paul Wohl
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The Soviet Communist Party has taken up the cudgels against dissidents at home and abroad.

The resolution issued by the Central Committee Jan. 31 has reversed the apparent tolerance of diversity inside communism reluctantly acknowledged at last summer's European summit of Communist parties.

Once again proletarian internationalism and dictatorship of the proletariat are to be communism's basic doctrines everywhere. These are the catch phrases by which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has long claimed to be the center of the world revolutionary movement. Communists everywhere have been told to follow Moscow's basic doctrines or face failure.

The Central Committee's resolution sets the tone for this fall's observance of the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution of November, 1917.

Why this about-face? Alleged differences in-

side the Kremlin cannot explain such a drastic move, which strikes at the Euro-Communist revisionist leadership, and is bound to instill fear in the relatively "liberal" parties of the bloc and encourage an upsurge of the hard-liners.

The resolution rebuts in strong terms the claims of internal dissenters and emigres. The Soviet system, it states, has provided its people with "unprecedented freedom and democracy, impossible in any capitalist country."

The Soviet bloc is hailed as "the most dynamic force in the world."

The Central Committee, which is the core of party officialdom, must have felt that criticism has gone too far and that without a vigorous counterattack, the very structure of the Soviet state and its goal will among the revolutionary-minded "third world" peoples are being eroded.

American support of Soviet dissidents and Prof. Andrei Sakharov's bold evocation, in connection with the recent bomb explosion in the Moscow subway, of the Kirov murder, which in

1934 served Stalin as a pretext for the great purge, have put the party on the defensive. And the best defense, according to Prussian General Clausewitz, who was quoted frequently by Lenin, is to attack.

Conditions have to be favorable, of course, Lenin warned; and the Central Committee must consider them so at present.

Several factors seem to have motivated the Central Committee's return to revolutionary concepts:

- Continued economic depression in the capitalist world, with massive unemployment and political instability.
- The West's widespread lack of confidence in further economic and technical progress, with subsequent stagnation.
- Capitalism's currency crisis and the growing trend in Western Europe, Latin America, and the oil-rich countries of the Middle East to jettison the dollar as a world standard.
- The strengthening of the anti-white movement among former colonial peoples and improved prospects of Communist gains in industrial-rich southern Africa.

Every one of these factors has been carefully analyzed in specialized Soviet magazines in recent months. They were spelled out at an international bloc-wide conference in Budapest from Jan. 18 to 21.

In the bloc countries with hard-line Communist rulers a return to Stalinist tenets has been evident. On Jan. 25 the Journal of the Bulgarian Central Committee sounded a warning against the infiltration of nationalist elements using Euro-communism as a disguise.

Among the Western parties such statements as the declaration of French Communist leader Georges Marchais at a press luncheon on Jan. 25 — "There can be a Christian and a Communist. This is not contradiction," — sound like slap in the face of Soviet communism.

The Italian party, on the other hand, is quarantined with its support of the trade union refusal of wage concessions and its reluctance to supporting the Christian Democratic government.

This is a situation that long-line Soviet servers say may seem to warrant the Central Committee's hard-line stand.

... but softer tack ends Prague row

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moderation appears to have won the day, for the time being at least, in the Czechoslovak Communist leadership's tussle with campaigners for human rights.

Probably both Soviet-bloc policy and strong reaction from non-Communist countries lie behind the Prague government's desire to avoid a major crackdown against the protesters.

Two moves Jan. 31 backed up earlier hints that the government wanted to end a situation that was threatening to get out of hand:

- Foreign Minister Bohumil Chroupek went out of his way to stress that Czechoslovakia is correctly observing the provisions of the Helsinki declaration of 1975, and would continue to do so. Signers of the declaration undertook to observe basic human rights and to extend cultural contacts between peoples.
- Two of the sponsors of Charter 77, the manifesto that launched the human-rights campaign in Czechoslovakia last month, were invited to the public prosecutor's office, and one of them, former foreign minister Jiri Hajek, stated afterward that the meeting with the prosecutor had "marked perhaps a change for the better."

Official voice

Mr. Chroupek's pronouncement was significant because he was speaking on behalf of the government. Although foreign ministers in Communist states do not usually carry much political weight, Mr. Chroupek is believed to have considerable standing within the party.

It was he who conducted the recent round of diplomacy that reopened normal contacts and exchanges with the West, the United States included. And Mr. Chroupek would be more aware than many of the inevitable setback to these improved relations (including important economic openings) if the hard-liners succeeded in imposing harsh sanctions against the present internal protest.

His statement was doubtless made with an eye to the meeting last week in Belgrade of the nine neutral or nonaligned European signatories of the Helsinki declaration. They are preparing for the overall review conference on the effects of the declaration, which is to be held in the Yugoslav capital this summer.

Former Foreign Minister Hajek served in the short-lived reform regime of Alexander Dubcek in 1968. Summoned to the prosecutor's office with him was Jan Patočka, a nonparty professor of philosophy expelled from Charles University in the Stalinist period and rehabilitated in 1968. The two were told that Charter 77 and activities related to it are contrary to law. Although Dr. Hajek's subsequent comment implied a softer line on the part of the authorities.

Dramatist Václav Havel, another charter spokesman, is currently being detained by the police under threat of charges of antistate activity which have not yet been defined publicly. Three other well-known reformers from 1968 are also in detention with similar charges pending.

It is too early to predict the outcome of the latest moves. There still may be strong pressures for bringing the leading protesters into court.

Room for concessions

Looking at current dissent both in Czechoslovakia and in Poland two weeks ago, a prominent East European Communist "liberal" commented to this writer that in each country there are margins where limited reforms could be conceded. Such concessions would go far toward pacifying present frustrations and discontent without unduly disturbing the Russians' orthodox conservatism as radical reform in Prague did in 1968, he said.

It is conceivable that a "moderate" view along these lines now prevails in Prague. Coming to terms with those it might regard as the more reasonable of the protesters would entail some tangible concession on the cultural and other limitations the regime has imposed on dissent and criticism thus far.



Prague: a campaign for human rights glimmers

Poland adopts fiscal reforms to bolster incentives

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Polish Government has introduced two economic reforms to defuse the popular unrest that was behind last summer's riots over big hikes in food prices.

The provides much-needed incentives for the country's private peasant farmers, who hold more than 80 percent of all agricultural land. The other will bolster private enterprise in the long-underdeveloped services sector.

In making these reforms, which had hitherto been blocked by orthodox party doctrine, Communist Party leader Edward Gierek and his colleagues are dropping their allegations that "bourgeois" were behind the factory strikes that forced them to rescind the price rises last summer.

The need to raise incentives for farmers by paying them more for their products was central to the 1976 plan to raise consumer prices.

The price hikes were canceled hastily. The government extended its policy of food subsidies, and the peasants got their

increases. The subsidies may amount to some \$10 billion for 1977. That would be twice the figure for 1976.

Now the Communist Party has adopted further incentives for private farmers. The new package gives them:

- Better access to feedstuffs and construction materials. State farms traditionally have had priority for feedstuffs, seed, machinery, and building materials.
- Better pensions and other benefits. These are related to the amount of meat and produce turned over to the state in the five previous years.
- Encouragement and credits to enlarge their holdings (10 acres had been the limit) by buying land abandoned or already sold to the state by elderly farmers no longer able to work it. Inheritance also will be secured.

Although the farmers had been promised many "new deals" after collectivization ended in 1956 and their lot had improved somewhat, the party continued to talk of a gradual "rural" reform. The peasants saw that as simply a euphemism for a return to collective farms.

One Western expert in Warsaw said that the law "means further 'socialization' of the land is out of the question."

If it is, and if the private farmers acquire new confidence, one of Poland's major economic lags could be corrected.

The weekly *Polityka* pointed up one reason for the government's move. Sales of livestock from private farms to the state dropped 150,000 tons last year. The projection is that the figure will go down another 100,000 tons this year. Only with new incentives is any improvement likely next year.

A foreigner seeking a taxi in Warsaw quickly appreciates why Poles complain so bitterly of poor services. Ninety-five percent of cabs are privately owned, but taxes are so punitive that owners have no material interest in working full time.

Ordinary Poles are dependent on small private enterprises for household repairs, automobile servicing, bakeries, catering, and so on. But high taxes, high prices for materials, and severe limits on employing others discourage expansion and prosperity for business ventures.

Now these private enterprises are to get much larger margins for tax-free income, credits for improvements, and social security as well as permission to employ more workers in general and to hire young apprentices.

Asia

Thai political jockeying: new 'reshuffle' likely

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bangkok, Thailand

Three and half months after the student unrest and military coup that ended Thailand's three-year experiment with democracy there is still no clear sign that the government of Prime Minister Thanin Kraivichien will succeed where previous governments failed.

Indeed, among observers here there is a sense that political jockeying among civilian and military backers of the new government is interfering with the emergence of coherent domestic and foreign policies — much as in-fighting among the country's 42 parties slowed decisions in the days of civilian rule.

Many experienced observers expect that the lightning soon will lead to another reshuffle either in the civilian cabinet or in the alliance of military officers behind it — or both. The return home from exile last month of former interior minister Prapas Charmsathien, one of the leaders overthrown by student demonstrations in 1973, is thought to have increased the likelihood of change. (An earlier return by Marud Prapas, last August, touched off new and violent demonstrations, and he was obliged to leave Thailand again after only a one-week stay.)

Some businessmen, diplomats, and government officials hope a reshuffle would bring clearer policies on the economy, social reform, and other matters, such as how to adapt to the U.S. military withdrawal from Southeast Asia. But some intellectuals and labor leaders are concerned that a new government would lean more repressively to the right than its predecessors.

• A clamp-down on dissent. The curbing of opposition parties, informal press censorship, and an atmosphere in the universities of what one professor calls "psychological intimidation" has produced apathy and cynicism among students. Some student activists (one estimate puts the number at about 30) have joined Communist insurgents, and many more are reported hiding in the countryside for fear they will be shot by the police if they reappear.

• A substantial decrease in crime. Official statistics claim a 24 percent reduction in Bangkok alone. The new government is widely praised for appointing the respected Gen. Montol Phakongsech as police chief. The nighttime curfew is thought to be a major reason for the drop in crime, which had risen markedly during the last days of civilian government.

• Some progress in boosting the economy by cutting through the red tape that had slowed foreign investment under civilian governments. Long-delayed tin- and zinc-mining concessions have been approved. But investors considering new mining, agricultural, and manufacturing ventures are holding back, say financial sources here, because they think another government reshuffle is in the offing.

• A reduction of labor unrest by outlawing strikes. But it is "too soon to tell" if the absence of once-frequent strikes will serve to boost investment, said one financial expert.

Insurgents in the southern part of the country. But these clashes have been exaggerated, and Thailand's policy toward the insurgents is still largely one of "containment," not "suppression," military analysts say.

• A renewed emphasis on such traditional values as the monarchy, Buddhism, and patriotism. Some Thais suggest this is necessary to unify the many splintered military and civilian factions in this country. But others are concerned that the government's course of justifying itself as a defender of the monarchy may undermine that institution by causing the King to be blamed if the new government fails.

• A continuation of the Bangkok-oriented character of government, which has led to years of neglect of the countryside, making it easy for Communist insurgents to win popular support in some areas. The suspension of Parliament means one less check on the abuses farmers sometimes incur at the hands of local officials. The rural credit program, championed by former prime minister Kukrit Pramoj but not by his brother and successor, Seni, who was in office at the time of the coup, also has been sold-pedaled by the new authorities — although there are people in the government who strongly believe in it, according to observers here.

Mrs. Gandhi eyes the communists

Good neighbors — poor roommates

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

India has adopted an on-the-one-hand and on-the-other-hand approach to the communist threat.

While its relations with the Soviet Union rarely have been better, the relations between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the pro-Soviet Communist Party of India (CPI) have never been worse. In fact, say veteran observers here, the cordiality that once marked their relations is all but over.

At the state level, Indo-Soviet ties seem to be thriving. For example, India is to receive from the Russians the heavy water for its nuclear program that the previous source, Canada, no longer will supply. It also will get Soviet crude oil — 5½ million tons' worth over the next five years — on easy rupee payment terms to minimize the foreign exchange drain that seemed likely after the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) suppliers announced their latest price increase. In the past, India had tried without success to buy Soviet oil, so Moscow's offer of the new deal in late December, after the OPEC price hike was announced, came as a surprise.

The two sides still have not reached agreement on a favorable exchange rate for India to pay back its sizable debt to the Soviet Union. But despite that matter there are reports that Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny will pay a state visit to New Delhi this month.

And at the Indian end, Prime Minister Gandhi found time to make a friendly reference to the Soviet Union Dec. 23 in the course of a 100-minute speech in which she lambasted the CPI directly for the first time. Moscow had found, she said, that "friendship between the two countries might be of benefit, as it later proved to be." And she acknowledged that the Soviet Union had helped India "in times of stress and peace."

The decline in Mrs. Gandhi's personal relations with the Indian Communists is dramatic because the latter had been her

long-standing ally. Of the principal opposition parties here, the CPI was the only one that welcomed the 18-month-old state of emergency as well as the far-reaching changes to the constitution carried out by Parliament last November.

In fact, the CPI — like the Soviet Union itself, whose reformation and patronage it enjoys and whose ideological positions it supports — has been backing the policies of each successive Congress Party government in New Delhi since 1957. When the Congress Party split in two in 1968, the CPI backed Mrs. Gandhi's faction. And in 1975, when the opposition figure Jayaprakash (JP) Narayan led the movement against Mrs. Gandhi that triggered the emergency, the CPI denounced it as fascist — at the risk of isolating itself from the rest of the opposition parties.

But in recent weeks, the CPI has begun criticizing Mrs. Gandhi's policies and her younger son, Sanjay. It said the Prime Minister's famous 20-point program for economic reform (announced a few days after the emergency was declared) had begun well but then had lost momentum. It warned of a "reactionary caucus" inside the ruling Congress Party, almost certainly a reference to Sanjay Gandhi. It was the Prime Minister's previously "progressive" policies as backsliding. And, while it continued to support her 20-point program, it ridiculed Sanjay Gandhi's five-point program for social reform.

Observers say the CPI's tactic was to try to force a new split in the ranks among reactionary and progressive lines. Then, according to this line of reasoning, the "progressive" faction would find itself politically dependent on the Communists.

But in late November, Mrs. Gandhi began to counterattack. In a veiled rebuff to the CPI she said she did not appreciate the gratuitous advice of those who would try to tell her how to run her government or her party.

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By United Press International

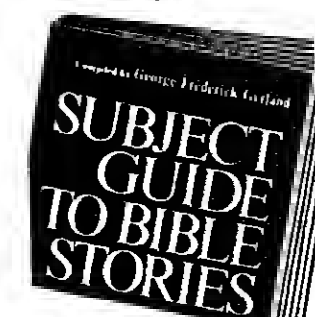
Tokyo

The Japanese Supreme Court has ruled that a radio company was wrong to fire an announcer who overslept and missed reading the early morning news.

It ordered the company in Kiehl, on the island of Shikoku, to pay the equivalent of \$13,000 to Masaoji Saito, in compensation for his dismissal 10 years ago.

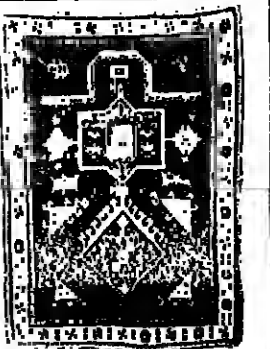


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Asia

Pakistan queues up for March elections

By Qutubuddin Azif
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Karachi, Pakistan
Pakistan, like its neighbor India, is closing in on national elections in March — and in both cases the campaigning is off to a stormy start. More than 32 million Pakistanis are eligible to go to the polls March 7 in the first general elections in more than six years. As recently as last fall there was concern in political circles that they might not be held on time, largely because at the time India's elections

were being postponed. But Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave assurance that there would be no delay and that they would be free and fair.

Opposition joins hands

A limit of \$4,000 per candidate has been placed on campaign spending under a recent election-malpractices law. A senior Supreme Court justice, Sajjad Ahmed Jan, has been placed in charge of organizing the elections, and at least 36,000 persons are expected to serve in supervisory capacities at the polls.

Bhutto aides predict that the ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP) will sweep in a new victory in the elections. The PPP already has a comfortable majority in the 216-member National Assembly (parliament).

As in India, a number of opposition parties have agreed to join hands to field candidates in every constituency against the ruling party. One such alliance of six parties is considered "too brittle" by political observers. A five-party group known as the United Democratic Front also has pledged to contest the elections, but it is described as "loose" by observers.

Three opposition parties, however, do pose a semblance of challenge to Mr. Bhutto and the PPP. They include the right-wing religious party Jamaat-e-Islami, the middle-of-the-road Movement for the Consolidation of Pakistan, and a Muslim League faction. Still another organization, the National Democratic Party, has made headway in the North-West Frontier Province but is considered too small at this stage to pose a serious threat to the PPP.

Domestic issues foremost

The election is likely to be contested largely on domestic issues. In fact, in his Jan. 24 manifesto Mr. Bhutto promised wide-ranging economic and agricultural benefits and a stronger national defense. Industrial and agricultural

production, the manifesto said, would increase 50 percent over the next five years.

The Prime Minister stole a march on his opponents three weeks ago by announcing sweeping agrarian reform measures under which no person may own more than 100 acres of irrigated land or 200 acres of unirrigated land. An land in excess of those ceilings is to be taken over by the government for distribution as grants to landless peasants — with former owners to be compensated in 10-year, interest-bearing government bonds. Agricultural income is to be subjected to federal income taxes for the first time, although there will be generous exemptions for farmers investing in sophisticated machinery, tube wells, and land improvements.

Also exempt from the new tax are individual holdings of up to 25 acres of irrigated land and 50 acres of unirrigated land.

The Prime Minister estimated that the new reforms would benefit the nearly three-quarters of the population that lives in the countryside and depends on agriculture for its livelihood.

The opposition, however, has been vocal in its conduct of the election campaign so far. Leaders have urged the Bhutto government to free detained political prisoners and to grant time on the state-controlled television and radio networks.

Cambodian raid: Thailand shocked and puzzled

By Frederic A. Maritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bangkok, Thailand
The Cambodian border raid into Thailand poses a dilemma of sizable proportions for the new Bangkok Government.

On the one hand, it wants improved relations with the Cambodians as a possible "buffer" against Vietnam, which it regards as a more serious threat to Thai security. But on the other hand, it hardly can afford to allow such attacks — this one reportedly claimed the lives of at least 29 villagers and one policeman — to continue.

Accordingly, Thailand will retaliate both militarily and economically against further border attacks by the Cambodians, said Deputy Prime Minister Boonchai Banrurongphong in a Jan. 31 news conference here. But even in the event of future attacks, the Thais will avoid punitive forays into Cambodia. They also will continue to try to cool border tensions through negotiations with the Cambodian Government in Phnom Penh.

General Boonchai sharply criticized the attack by an estimated 500 Cambodians. But he refrained from announcing any specific Thai retaliation.

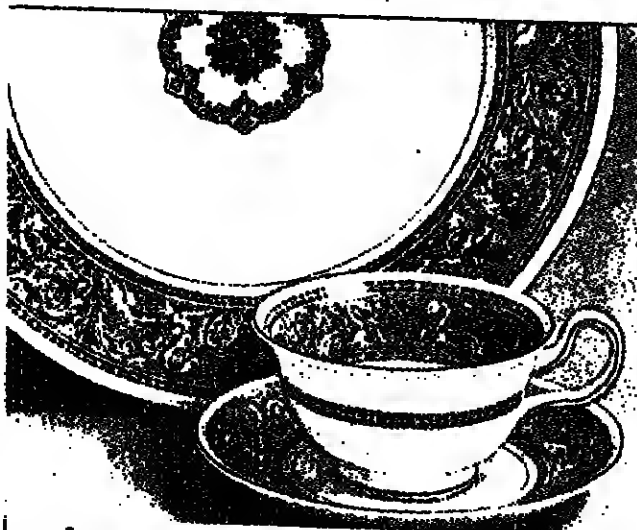
The General said that if the attacks continued, Thailand might "have to stop all aid to Cambodia," although he excluded aid from international sources coming through Thailand. The Thais have been selling salt and oil to Cambodia since late 1975.

Six border-crossing points with Cambodia have been closed and the Thai Government has lodged a protest with the Cambodian Government, General Boonchai said. But, asked if reinforcements would be sent to the troubled border area, he said police on the scene were already strong enough to deal with the situation.

The Thai Government has sought to communicate with Cambodia directly at a border liaison office near Aranyaprathet, and indirectly through both China and the United Nations.

In December low-level talks were resumed at the liaison office. But Cambodia so far has not responded to Thai requests for high-level negotiations on border issues.

So far there is no indication who ordered the raid and why. Thai authorities say they are convinced, from the uniforms of the attackers, that they were Cambodian Khmer Rouge forces.



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Middle East

Europeans look to U.S. for Israeli-Arab peace

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
European foreign ministers are anxiously awaiting signs that the Carter administration intends to push Israel more rapidly toward a settlement with the Arabs.

A meeting of the nine foreign ministers of the European Community here last Monday agreed to make no public statement on Middle East policy. The ministers did not want to complicate Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's mid-February visit to the Middle East nor that of United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

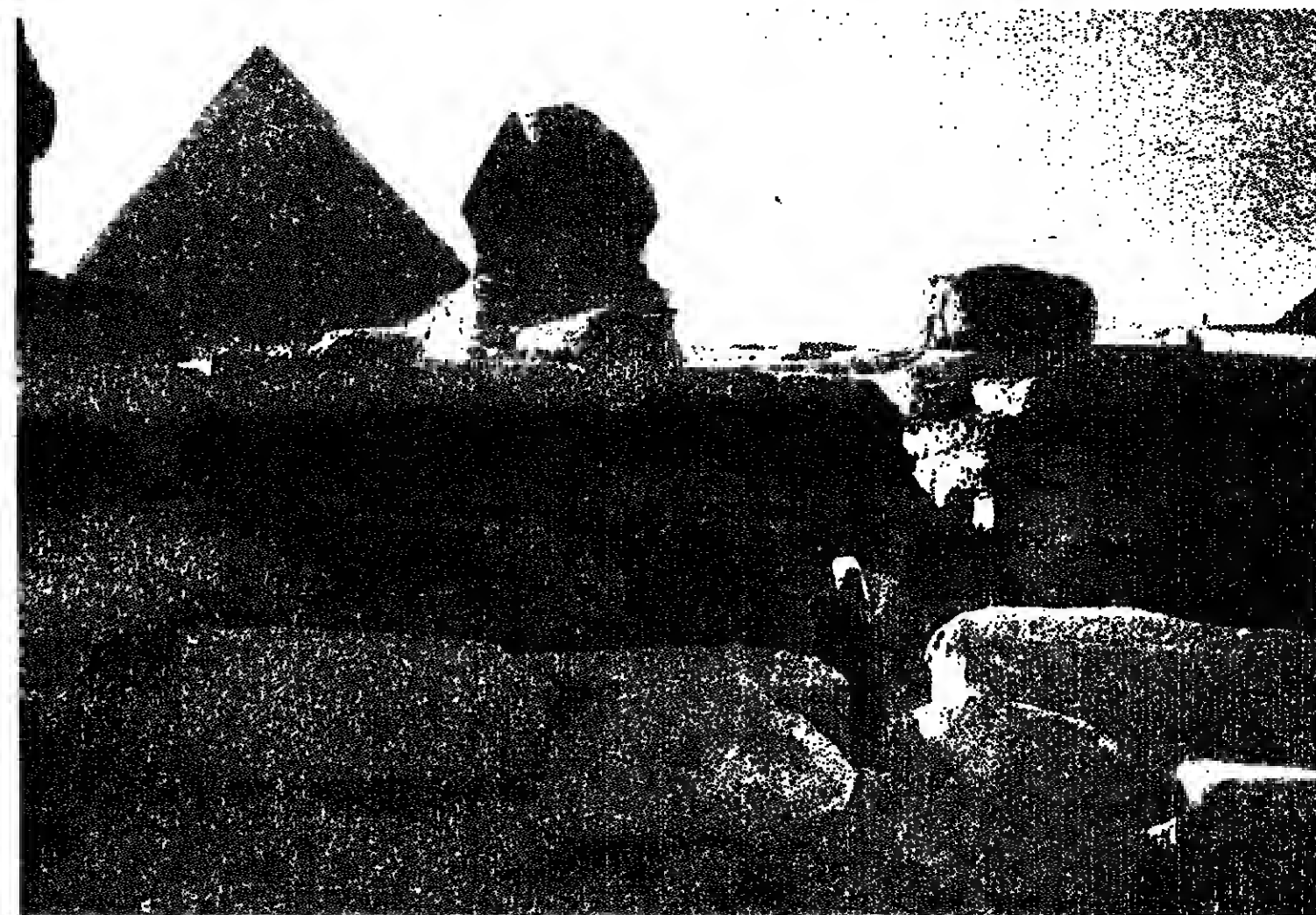
The European view of what needs to be done, as gleaned from sources here, may be summed up as follows:

1. President Carter starts his administration with a clean slate. He gave no significant hostages to the Israeli lobby during the election campaign and thus has a relatively free hand.

2. Moderate Arabs, now in the leadership in the states most concerned with a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, recognize that an immediate solution is not possible. The Israelis have scheduled an election in May. The Arabs themselves are sorting out problems arising from the long civil war in Lebanon, notably the question of how to deal with the Palestinians.

3. A realistic prospect, therefore, is that the Geneva conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be reconvened until midsummer. The Palestinians will have to be at the conference, in one form or another, and Israel must be persuaded to accept this presence.

4. This year, 1977, does not have to be the



Pyramids at Giza, Cairo

Peace in the Middle East — the unsolved riddle

By John E. Young

year in which the Arab-Israeli conflict is finally settled. But it is a year in which substantive progress must be seen to have been made toward such a settlement.

As moderate and as unexpected as this timetable sounds, the Europeans are convinced that it will require considerable American pressure to bring Israel to Geneva, to treat with the Palestinians — whatever the formula devised —

and to reach a settlement which is bound to be bitterly resisted both by hard-line Israelis and by hard-line Palestinians.

The Europeans also know that the timetable can be upset at any moment by sudden events like the recent PLO riots. Their deep anxiety arises from the knowledge of their continuing dependence on Arab oil and the certainty that if Arab-Israeli relations take a sudden turn for

the worse, European-American relations will come under tremendous strain.

No one here wants to repeat the trauma of the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 and the bitter recriminations between European and American ministries that followed it.

Yet the European perspective on the Middle East is bound to be different from the American. European oil dependence is increasingly complemented by European exports of plants, machinery, and munitions to oil-rich Arab states, as well as by Arab investment in European companies.

What the Europeans want at all costs to avoid is that this closer relationship with the Arab states become a source of friction with the United States.



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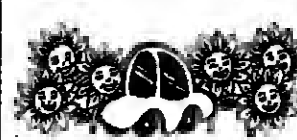
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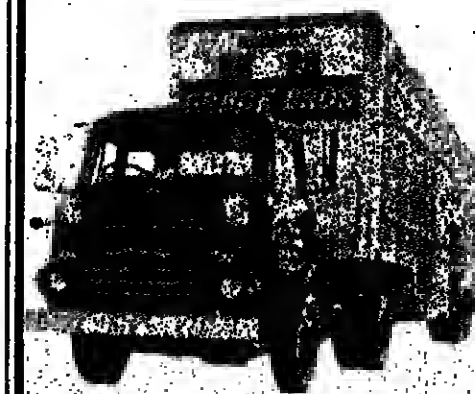
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China

After 'gang of four' — modernization

By Robert Kilborn Jr.
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

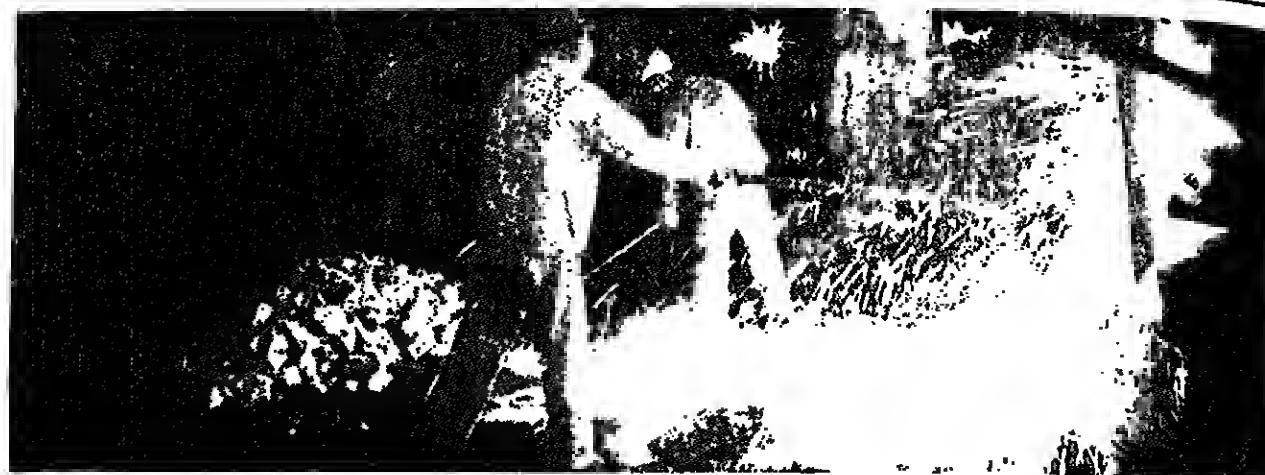
Boston

The infamous "gang of four" has disrupted Chinese industry so badly that most of 1977 will be needed for recovery. But then the country should be ready for "a rather speedy takeoff" toward its cherished goal of modernization.

So says British trade consultant Roland Berger, a regular visitor to China and an expert on its economic and political affairs. Mr. Berger, currently on a speaking tour of the United States, most recently left China Dec. 1 after his 20th visit.

The trade consultant, who represents a large group of British firms doing business with the Chinese, reports being surprised at the "complete change of mood" in Peking on his last visit. Despite the political turmoil that was still in progress, his hosts in the foreign-trade and industrial community were more interested in exploring the importation of sophisticated equipment and machinery than they had been since before the turmoil began.

And, he says, "I think you're going to have what might be called 'labor enthusiasm'" on the part of workers to catch up after the losses in production caused by the politically radical gang of four. The Chinese people, he adds, are very angry at the four (who include Ching Ching, widow of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wei, and Yao Wen-yuan — all purged former members of the Communist Party Politburo), and the workers are relieved that the matter is being settled. Previously they had been unsure from one day to the next whether they should produce or — at the direction



Metalworks in Loyang, Henan Province

Industry sparks again in China

By Sven Simon

of the four — criticize such revisionists as former vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping.

Mr. Berger says the impetus for industrial modernization now being attributed to Mao's successor, Hua Kuo-feng, is nothing new — merely the continuation of a policy that had been sidetracked by the political turmoil.

"We in Britain expect some revival of the massive buying of plants from abroad as in 1973 and 1974," he says. In those years the Chinese poured more than \$600 million into the importation of whole plants from Japan, France, and West Germany — mostly in the steel and petrochemical industries.

Many of those plants are only now going into production, Mr. Berger says, and "they are going to inject a very powerful impetus into the economy."

He says that before his trade group organized its last visit to China, his hosts told him, "don't bring anything we've seen before. Bring only sophisticated equipment."

"So we brought high-technology goods that hadn't even been shown in Britain," he says. After the party reached Peking for a 10-day exhibition of solar equipment, it was visited by 35,000 Chinese. The host country selected 29 highly specialized and technical lectures from a list of 45 proposed by the British and delegated persons from even far-flung provinces to attend. By the time the exhibition closed the Chinese had placed orders worth \$1 million.

Mr. Berger says he asked Foreign Trade Minister Li Ching whether the Chinese would be interested in buying entire plants from abroad as before. "Certainly," was the response. "It is in our minds to buy complete plants."

'Linchpin of apartheid' to be examined

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The pass system in South Africa, under which every black over 16 must carry papers to live, work, and travel within the country, is up for examination and possibly change by the government.

But because the pass system is the linchpin of apartheid, the policy by which races are separated and regulated, informed observers expect no significant changes.

Even economic arguments do not seem to convince the government that the expensive pass system should be abolished. About 112.8 million rand (\$129.7 million) are spent every year to maintain the system, according to a conservative estimate by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The Viljoen Commission said violation of the pass laws should be a minor offense, like a parking violation, instead of being a criminal offense. It said South African prisons are crowded with pass offenders, and many of them get an education in hard-core crime while they are imprisoned.

But decriminalization of the pass laws would not work, according to Sheena Muman, president of the Black Sash, a women's organization that advises blacks on pass problems.

Mrs. Muman says the pass system would collapse if there were no strong penalty.

A white trade-union leader concurs: "If the pass laws go, everything [about apartheid] will go."

In the past the government frequently has ignored recommendations by commissions it has set up. That has prompted critics to say the investigations are merely a way to gain time.

"The removal of passes would have to go hand in hand with properly thought-out decentralization of industry," said Mrs. Duncan. Otherwise there would be a dramatic influx of blacks into the urban areas.

"At the moment people [outside cities] are living in huge rural

slums. It is just because whites don't see them that nothing is done," she added.

The pass system has ruined much of family life among black South Africans, because migrant workers must leave their wives and children in tribal homelands while they go to the cities to work.

Black opposition to carrying passes was the reason for the protest march in Sharpeville in 1960 that ended with police killing more than 60 blacks. During the next 15 years South Africa was relatively quiet, but hatred of the pass has not disappeared.

This reporter knows several blacks who own cars and wear suits to work who have not carried their passes around with them for a year. In fact, prosecutions under pass laws have diminished from 821,400 in 1970 to 360,000 in 1975. Certainly during last year's riots in the black townships, police were often too busy to check many passes.

The latest disturbance over the pass system among blacks concerns Transkei, the predominantly Xhosa tribal homeland proclaimed independent by South Africa in October. Some urban Xhosa-speaking people are being forced when they come in contact with authority to take out a Transkei passport. By doing that, a black is subject to easier removal from so-called white areas, which make up 87 percent of South Africa.

Mrs. Muman says the government seems to be seeking a confrontation over the issue of Transkei.

But black reaction has not yet boiled over into angry actions.

After the Sharpeville incident, blacks were promised great changes, and they were inclined to half-believe the promises. Now they keep saying the government is doing nothing. Blacks who, a year ago, were moderate now are planning acts of terrorism.

Whites may think the government is trying to change its policy of apartheid, but blacks do not think so.

South Africa



Failure to carry a pass is a criminal offense

Ironically, the system of apartheid, which made black areas truly black, has produced children who have never been individually humiliated by whites because they have had almost no contact with whites. Black pride comes naturally to them.

Thus apartheid, with its pass system, is fueling the revolution against itself.



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South Africa

Student leader pushes for mortarboards before helmets

Tsietsi Mashinini warns exiled students of what he calls corrupt political groups and urges education first

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg — South Africa's most prominent black student leader, Tsietsi Mashinini, has advised students who leave the country not to join either of the two South African liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) or the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Mr. Mashinini, whose photograph has been splashed on Page 1 of the black newspaper, the World, for three consecutive days, is in neighboring Botswana. It is estimated that more than 1,000 South African students have fled to Botswana in the last year.

The student leader told the World that in his travels to Europe and the United States he had found that the ANC, which has operated from exile for 16 years, was corrupt. He said ANC agents in Botswana were recruiting 13-year-old boys. He added that PAC, which had only one man in New York, also was ineffective.

Mr. Mashinini was photographed giving the black power salute with the student who replaced him as president of the So- weto Students Representative Council (SSRC), Khotso Seatlhohlo. Mr. Seatlhohlo recently fled Johannesburg's black township of Soweto to escape possible detention.

In his interview with the World, Mr. Mashinini said he now was involved in trying to help newly exiled students further their education. He said two U.S.-based organizations, the National Student Coalition against Racism and Apartheid and the American Committee on Africa, were helping in this regard.

The Sunday World said that 200 scholarships had been provided for the exiles, through the International University Exchange Fund in Geneva, for schooling in Britain and African countries, mainly Nigeria.

Mr. Mashinini said that by the end of February the majority of students should have found places. He said 500 students, more than most observers had thought, had gone to Tanzania for training by the ANC.

Spearheading the political protest that has transformed black thinking, Mr. Mashinini has proved a "natural" leader, according to the adults who have worked closely with him.

Stories abound of his intuitive ability to get the backing of the people. When taxi drivers were reluctant to support a student-led strike last year, Mr. Mashinini called off the strike. Then in a fast visit to a central taxi stand he talked to the drivers, explained to them the reasons for the strike, and about 10 minutes later disappeared before police arrived on the scene. When the strike was resumed, the taxi drivers observed it.

Mr. Mashinini's successor Khotso Seatlhohlo, did not have the same flair. Now that he too has fled Soweto to avoid detention, the SSRC plans to continue its activities under a third president, Daniel Motsisi, who was elected in mid-January.

The SSRC, which was established after the disturbances began last June, claims a following of thousands of students in Soweto. It is headed by a committee of more than 45 students chosen by their secondary and high school contemporaries.

Guided by politically experienced adults, the SSRC has almost eclipsed the last generation of ANC and PAC activists. But what the new South African exiles will do is unknown.

A black source in close touch with the students says that Mr. Mashinini's political activities (and presumably those of his friends) will "go on to another level."

At least the students are developing a broadened political pragmatism. According to the World, "They expected fame and glamour in exile. All most have acquired is sorrow."



Mashinini: advice for exiles

United States

Vance: America does not mean to be 'strident'

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington — In his first press conference, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance indicated that the State Department will begin to exercise more caution in its statements on human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"We will from time to time speak out," Mr. Vance said, but he also made it clear the United States does not intend to be "strident or potent" and that it will "not comment on each and every issue."

Mr. Vance's remarks, made in answer to questions, reinforced the impression that he felt somewhat uncomfortable with the State Department's warning issued to the Soviet Union that it should not silence Andrei D. Sak-

harov, the outspoken nuclear physicist and the most prominent of the Soviet Union's dissidents.

The State Department comment on Mr. Sakharov's case had not been cleared by either Mr. Vance or President Carter. Mr. Carter told newsmen that the statement reflected his attitude on human rights but that it probably should have been made directly by the President or the Secretary of State himself.

At the start of the press conference Mr. Vance issued a rebuke to the government of Rhodesia, saying the United States regretted that efforts to cope with the Rhodesian problem had been dealt a "serious blow" by Prime Minister Ian Smith's rejection of British proposals for transfer to majority rule.

To re-emphasize the United States' opposition to the maintenance of rule by the white

minority, Mr. Vance said the United States will "strongly support" repeal of the (Henry F.) Byrd amendment which allows for U.S. imports of Rhodesian chrome and ferro-chrome as exceptions to the sanctions against trade with the African country.

The Ford administration had also publicly come out in favor of repeal of the Byrd amendment. But in the view of most observers, it had not pushed as hard as it could have for repeal — apparently seeing little political mileage to be gained from it in an election year.

In the view of those experienced in relations with the Congress, it will take strong pressure from President Carter himself to overcome opposition from American steel interests and a number of key congressmen if an appeal is to be agreed to by the House of Representatives.

In the important problem of a settlement in

the Middle East, Mr. Vance emphasized the need to convene a conference at Geneva at some point this year in order to avoid what he described as possible "disruptive" factors should agreement not be reached on the question.

While Mr. Vance cautioned against rushing unprepared into a conference, it was the first time that the Carter administration had come out so strongly for a Geneva meeting within the year.

Mr. Vance confirmed that he would be going to the Middle East shortly because it was "critically important" that progress be made this year. His trip, he said, would be followed by visits to the United States by leaders of the countries involved in the Middle East problem.

Mr. Vance also confirmed that he will be traveling to the Soviet Union in March.



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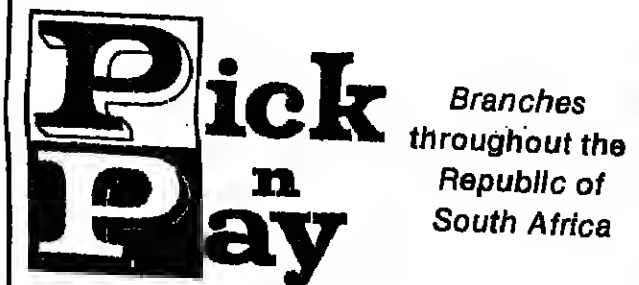
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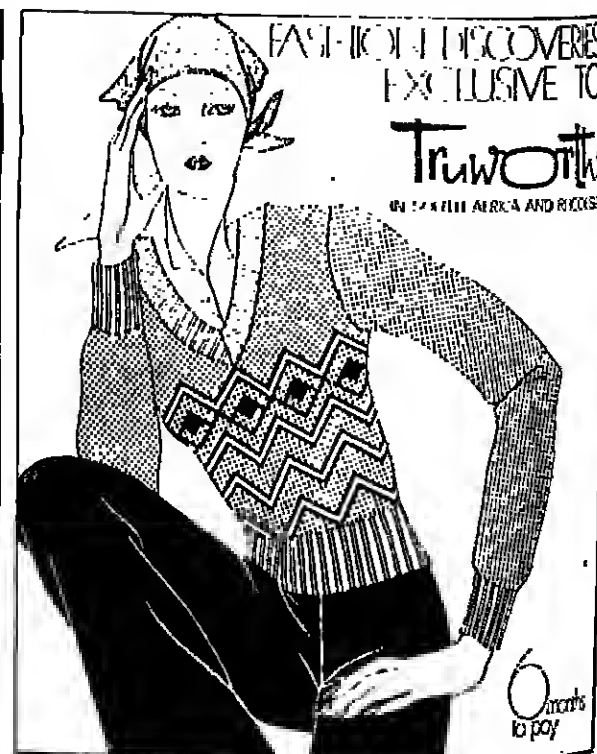
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United States

Appointment of a dove suggests . . .

When Carter says control arms, he means it

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
With the expected appointment of Paul C. Warnke to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), President Carter has moved into a new ideological controversy — in the arms control field.

The news that Mr. Warnke, a forceful and outspoken advocate of arms control, will be given the position has had the immediate effect of boosting the morale of much of the staff at the agency, which was prevented during the Kissinger era from playing the strong role it is authorized to play in arms control negotiations. It has also had the effect of angering the congressional conservatives who consider Mr. Warnke a "dove."

"Warnke is going to put this agency back on the map," said an agency official, reflecting a widely held view within the agency.

"It's a very controversial appointment, and I think there's going to be a fight over it," said a

congressional staff member working for a senator who can be expected to oppose Mr. Warnke's confirmation.

The consensus at the moment is that members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will offer little opposition in giving their recommendation on the Warnke appointment. No one seriously thinks, at this stage at least, that the appointment can be defeated. But confirmation is not likely to be unanimous. Some strong opposition is almost certain to be heard from the floor of the Senate. And new attention is expected to be focused, as a result of the appointment, on the question of where President Carter intends to go in negotiations with the Soviets on the control of both strategic and conventional arms.

Critics of Mr. Warnke cite his role as a signer of Sen. George McGovern's "Alternate Defense Posture," a presidential campaign document, and his role in chairing a McGovern panel on national security as indications that he will be "too soft on the Russians." (Some defenders of Mr. Warnke say that he actually worked to modify Senator McGovern's views

in the direction of a more conservative defense posture.)

The critics also point to an article by Mr. Warnke in the spring, 1975, issue of the magazine Foreign Policy in which he proposed that the United States unilaterally halt the development of certain weapons systems in an attempt to induce matching restraint on the part of the Soviet Union.

Defenders of Mr. Warnke contend that he remains in the "mainstream" of American thinking on arms control but, without going so far as to compromise national security, would bring new ideas into negotiations with the Russians. They argue, moreover, that the agency can play a constructive role as an adversary of the more hawkish views on arms control which are sometimes advocated by powerful officials elsewhere in the government, particularly in the Pentagon.

This argument is presented in its most articulate form by the Arms Control Association, a nonpartisan organization dedicated to promoting arms control. According to it, the agency's role is "not only to develop plans and policies, but also to provide 'a platform for advocacy' and 'a central focal point for arms control thinking in the executive branch.'"

"Public opinion about arms control and disarmament has grown skeptical in recent years," said the association in a recent issue of its publication Arms Control Today. "This is in part because no government official has effectively rebutted exaggerated charges that the United States is growing weaker and that the Soviet threat to the U.S. therefore needs to be met by greater military expenditures."

"ACDA could play a more prominent role in a major public education effort to put the military balance in a more reasonable perspective."

Under the eloquent Mr. Warnke, the arms-control agency could be expected to play a highly visible educational role. But it is not yet



By R. Notman Mallory, staff photographer
Paul C. Warnke: dove among hawks

clear how much real power Mr. Warnke will have. It was understood that he insisted on a condition for accepting the agency post: that he be given control over the critical strategic arms limitation talks. By ACDA's director serves as "the principal advisor to the secretary of state and the president on arms control and disarmament matters. When he served as Secretary of State, however, Henry A. Kissinger took over all of the SALT negotiating function."

Contributing to Mr. Warnke's image as a "dove" among some of his opponents is a Vietnam war record. According to the Pentagon Papers, when Mr. Warnke served as a staff member in the Southern Area, he fought against proposals for the expansion of the bombing of North Vietnam. After the Clifford, one of the leading Democratic power brokers, was appointed secretary of defense in 1968, Mr. Warnke was widely cited as having been a dominant influence in some people put it, "turning Clifford around on the war."

Mr. Warnke currently works as a law professor at Mr. Clifford's in Washington.

Turn up the garbage — it's cold in here

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
As winter blasts force the closing of still more schools and factories for lack of natural gas, work is about to begin in Pompano Beach, Florida, on the nation's first pilot plan to convert city garbage and sewage into gas for homes and industries.

Although no more than 2 to 3 percent of the nation's future energy needs are likely to be supplied by such a process, even that amount has private and federal energy specialists enthused.

"This is a way to turn a liability — waste — into an asset," says Peter Verdy, a vice-president of Waste Management, Inc., of Oak Brook, Illinois, which is building the plant with a \$2.9 million grant from the federal Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA).

Most cities pay about \$50 a ton to have sewage sludge removed — and \$80 to \$15 a ton for garbage removal, according to Waste Management. Land costs for dumping are also rising.

Experimental conversions of garbage into gas have been made elsewhere in the United States in the past few years, but either by other methods (primarily by burning the garbage with varying amounts of oxygen) or on a smaller scale than planned at Pompano Beach. In some cities, garbage is burned directly as a fuel for electric power plants without converting it to gas.

At the Florida plant, where ground-breaking is scheduled to begin Feb. 2, some 100 tons of

garbage a day will be shredded. Ferrous metals will be removed magnetically and sand, gravel, and ashwa filtered out through holes in a long, rotating barrel. Remaining inorganic waste (such as other metals, china, or leather) will be sifted off by blasts of air; lighter items are blown up and out a tube.

Organic wastes will then be mixed with city sewage (sludge) and nutrient chemicals and heated temporarily to 140 degrees F. Then the mixture will be stirred for five days.

The predicted results, according to Mr. Verdy: conversion of about half of every ton of garbage dumped at the plant into (1) 3,000 cubic feet of low-quality methane gas usable in industries (further refining would yield higher quality gas for home heating); (2) 300 cubic feet of carbon dioxide usable in such things as carbonated beverages.

The plant is expected to be opened by Dec. 1 and operated from two to four years. Waste Management officials hope to open the first full-scale commercial plant by 1981.

But if it could be near the end of the century before enough garbage-to-gas plants are operating to provide even 2 percent of the nation's energy needs, says one ERDA official.

Meanwhile, there are some uncertainties says John T. Pfeffer, the sanitary engineer at the University of Illinois at Urbana who developed the process to be used in Pompano Beach. How microbes used in the conversion will react to large-scale use is unpredictable — toxic materials could kill them and disrupt the process, he says.

And whether the process is profitable is still debatable.

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Jamaican road to socialism

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley compares his island nation these days to a family that has too many expenses and not enough income — in short, a family living beyond its means.

His solution in this dilemma centers on a combination of austerity and socialism, with emphasis on nudging the island away from capitalism and toward socialism. Mr. Manley made this clear as he introduced his government's economic package to Parliament in weeks' end.

That package includes some obvious steps: a drastic cutting of national expenses, including expensive foreign investments; higher taxes on the wealthy; and temporary freezes on both wages and prices.

But it is the movement toward a socialist economy that Mr. Manley sees as the ultimate

answer to the "serious economic crisis" (his words) facing Jamaica that results from high prices for all imports, low prices for all exports.

First steps in the Manley plan are nationalization of Jamaica's largest bank, a subsidiary of Canada's Bank of Nova Scotia, and several other private banks, as well as nationalization of a large cement company. Longer-range steps include the Jamaicanization of much of the island's industry.

It is uncertain whether these steps will solve — or even lessen — the economic problems of the island. Some of Mr. Manley's supporters are not sure that Jamaica's 2 million people, most of whom are poor, will benefit from his program, but this does not deter Mr. Manley.

He brags that his victory in last month's parliamentary election was a mandate to move toward socialism. His People's National Party won 84 percent of the seats in Parliament, while polling 57 percent of the vote.

Jamaica's current economic problem, as Mr. Manley sees it, is essentially a legacy of "our historical colonial connections to world capitalism" and the present-day "economic set-up which we call imperialism."

To break that legacy and to free Jamaica from what he regards as the island's current dependency on foreign investment, both public and private, the Manley formula is one of saying to such investors, in effect, "hands off."

That seemed an advance answer to the International Monetary Fund's expected demand for devaluation of the Jamaican dollar as a condition for a large loan to Jamaica. Mr. Manley promises that Jamaica will not devalue, for that would cut "programs which serve the people and their needs."

The Prime Minister is convinced that Jamaica can weather its present economic storm and that the island has friends who will help. In this connection, he told Parliament he would seek to establish trade with the Communist trading bloc, however, and would increase the island's economic ties with neighboring Cuba.



Manley: edging Jamaica to socialism

Latin America

From the U.S.: a small olive twig for Cuba

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Carter administration, in its first major Latin American initiative, is holding out the olive branch to Cuba.

It is a tentative offering — and the path inward normalization of United States-Cuban relations is thorny at best. But Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance's carefully worded answer to a press conference query was a clear signal to Havana that Washington is prepared to talk about renewing relations.

The ball now goes back to Havana's court, but there is little doubt that Cuba will look favorably upon the U.S. initiative.

Cuban President Castro has sent his own signals to Washington in recent months that he would welcome some sort of rapprochement.

The Vance remarks Jan. 31 mark a significant change in U.S. policy on the Cuba question and suggest the Carter administration will look at the whole Cuba issue afresh.

"I don't want to set any preconditions on talks with Cuba," Mr. Vance said.

Washington officials, however, provide a word of caution on the Vance remarks. While they should be taken for exactly what they say, the Carter administration does not expect an immediate warming of Cuba-U.S. friendship.

In other words, the Vance overture should be seen as merely the beginning of a long, probably difficult, period in U.S.-Cuban relations.

Nevertheless, the log jam has been broken and the immediate reaction in hemisphere circles in Washington was one of relief. "At long last," one veteran hemisphere diplomat said, "Washington has swallowed its hurt and realized that Cuba for good or ill is there and it might as well try to get along with the island."

Mr. Vance spelled out the point at his press

conference, when asked about possible relations with Cuba: "It is appropriate to seek normal relations with all countries."

But through the 1960s and 1970s to date, Washington has not been able to do that with Cuba. The presence of a Communist nation 90 miles from the U.S. mainland was too much for successive administrations to accept.

Moreover, Cuba's support of North Vietnam and the Viet Cong during the Vietnam war, the presence of large numbers (upwards of 600,000) Cuban exiles in the U.S., and Cuba's support of guerrilla and terrorist ventures in Latin America, as well as its Angolan operation, were additional factors working against U.S.-Cuban ties.

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger made it clear that Cuban withdrawal from Angola was a precondition to any talks with Cuba. Dr. Kissinger and President Ford also indicated last year that Cuba would have to stop trying to incite Puerto Ricans to seek independence before talks could start.

Cuban presence in Angola and Cuban interference in Puerto Rican affairs also concern the Carter administration, as Mr. Vance made clear in the case of Angola at his press conference, but they are not stumbling blocks in path of Cuba-U.S. talks nor necessarily insurmountable issue in the renewal of relations.

Washington sources indicate that the Carter administration has no timetable on renewing ties with Cuba.

If it is thought likely, however, that one of the first issues to be discussed will be renewal of the two-year-old antijacking accord which Dr. Castro cancelled last October in the wake of alleged U.S. involvement in the salvaging of a Cuban de Aviación DC-8 jetliner that crashed off Barbados with 73 fatalities.

The U.S. denied complicity in the incident, which now is blamed on Cuban exiles.

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Australia

It may be 40.5° outside but it still feels like 105

Australia not wasting any time in adopting the metric system

By Ronald Vickers
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia
The "great Australian heat wave" — it was 105 degrees F. in Sydney Jan. 30 — does not seem so severe when reduced to metric terms. Indeed, subtract a 32 here and multiply by the fraction five-ninths there and that searing heat becomes a more reasonable-sounding 40.5 degrees on the Celsius scale. It helps to point up the contrast between the old and the new as Australia adjusts to life under the metric system.

This country is well ahead of schedule in its phased conversion, and there have been few hitches so far. But the lesson of the Australian experience seems to be that there is nothing to be gained — and, indeed, much to be lost — by a pussyfooting approach to metric conversion.

Each state of the changeover here involves a different area of public or business activity. The target date for completion is still three

years away, but already 100 of the total of 150 programs are complete. Each of the others has at least been set in motion. The most recent program was the conversion last December of all gasoline pumps in the country from gallons to liters.

A prominent example of how the changeover worked is road signs. Just prior to July 1, 1974, a large-scale television and print-medium campaign began to notify and educate the public to the conversion. All road signs were then changed during the month to the international style.

Few motorist complaints

In accordance with the policy of the Metric Conversion Board (MCB) none of the old units of measure were included on the road signs except where public safety was concerned. For instance, speed limits were listed in kilometers per hour only but bridge clearances and flood levels continued to appear in imperial as well as metric measure.

Motorists accepted the change virtually

without complaint, and no delays or accidents were reported as a result of the switch.

Opposition to "metrication" here has been based mainly on the assumption that the change would result in higher prices.

In the State of Victoria, for example, the switch from pint to milliliter milk bottles was delayed by a production ban imposed by the glassworkers union. An anti-metric organization had convinced union officials that metrication involved extra costs in the millions of dollars and was responsible for an increase in the price of milk.

The state government stepped in, however, and suggested that the ban would merely serve to drive consumers to buy their milk in cartons. The union soon dropped its ban, but the target date for completion of the switch to metric bottling had to be extended by three months.

Price pressure minimal

No noticeable increases in price seem to have resulted from the change. In fact, upward pressure on the prices of some items has eased as the number of sizes for sale has been reduced. Where there had been 153 different sizes of door hinges on the market prior to metrication, there now are only 11. Soft drinks

also come in bottles of 11 different sizes, as opposed to 30 previously. Gasoline cans, which used to come in 50 sizes, now are available in only 3.

Then, too, metric conversion has provided the opportunity for other standardizations in Australia. Differences in the laws of the six Australian states previously meant that there was no common speed limit and a wide variety of package sizes for consumer goods.

As the switch to metric weights and measures takes place in local areas the MCB sends its women's advisers and a team of assistants to visit shopping centers, distributing leaflets and offering other assistance to help housewives adjust to the change.

James Webster, Minister of Science in the federal government in Canberra, acknowledges that metric units are not yet part of everyday speech in Australia.

"It is likely to be many years before the metric units become part of our tradition and culture," he says. "But I expect that as the last sections of the retail trade convert during the next few years — and as children who have been taught only the metric system join the work force — this situation will change quickly."

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JUBILEE FOR THE SECOND ELIZABETH

The monarchs of Britain, it is said, 'reign but do not rule.' Yet they retain three important political rights: to be consulted, to encourage, and to warn. And they act as a rallying point in times of crisis, a splash of color to brighten workaday lives, and a symbol of national unity. As the country prepares to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the reign of Elizabeth II, a Monitor correspondent reports on the Queen, the monarchy, and the mood in Britain.

By Takashi Oka

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Queen Elizabeth would like a special gift for a special occasion.

The occasion is her silver jubilee - the 25th anniversary of her reign, which began in a hunting lodge in Kenya on Feb. 6, 1952.

And the gift, she told her people throughout the Commonwealth in a Christmas broadcast last year, is reconciliation. "It is easy enough to see where reconciliation is needed and where it would heal and purify," she said. "Obviously in national and international affairs, but also in homes and families. . . ."

"The gift I would most value next year is that reconciliation should be found wherever it is needed. A reconciliation which would bring peace and security to families and neighbors at present suffering and torn apart.

"Remember that good spreads outward, and every little does help. Mighty things from small beginnings grow as indeed they grew from the small child of Bethlehem."

Still a rallying point

In medieval times, a king's touch was thought to heal. Monarchy has been shorn of much of its mystique and most of its power in these latter days. But here in Britain, which has been ruled by kings and queens since the Angles and Saxons, the monarch is still a rallying point in times of crisis, a splash of color to brighten workaday lives, a symbol of unity transcending political parties and labels.

For a quarter of a century, since her much-loved father George VI, died while she was on a Commonwealth tour Queen Elizabeth has filled this role with grace, humility, tact, and transparent honesty.

The first Elizabeth ruled over an England in the spring time of its glory. The second Elizabeth ascended the throne in days of difficulty illumined by hope. A great war had

ended victoriously, but the world was still to be rebuilt. At home Britons were constructing their welfare state; abroad they were dismantling their empire.

The second Elizabeth, like the first, came to the throne when she was 25. Unlike the first, the second was brought up in an extraordinarily happy and united family. She married a handsome prince after an almost ideal courtship. She had a son and a daughter, and then two more sons long after she became Queen.

But the years of her reign thus far have been among the most difficult periods of transition in her country's millennial history. They included: the trauma of the 1956 Suez adventure; repeated economic crises and devaluations of the pound; the agony of Northern Ireland; the loss of empire; and entry into the European Community.

Six prime ministers have come and gone, and the seventh, James Callaghan, has been in office less than a year. In continuity of political experience, the Queen has already outlasted most of her ministers and many of her fellow heads of state. In Europe, only Queen Juliana of the Netherlands and King Baudouin of the Belgians have reigned longer.

This continuity of experience is an intangible asset, the value of which can only grow with the years.

Three rights retained

The monarchs of Britain, it is said, "Reign but do not rule." Yet they retain three important political rights, as the constitutional historian Walter Bagehot wrote back in 1867: to be consulted, to encourage, and to warn.

Every Tuesday evening the Queen spends an hour with the British prime minister. The contents of the conversation are never divulged. Both the sovereign and the prime minister prepare for their sessions with great care.

Successive prime ministers have left these seasons expressing great respect for the Queen's breadth of knowledge and her grasp of complicated situations.

Among the monarch's remaining prerogatives is that of naming a new prime minister or the

Usually the process is automatic; if a party commands a majority in Parliament, the leader of that party will be asked to be the next prime minister.

But what if the leadership of the majority party is itself in doubt? When he decided to retire in 1963, Harold Macmillan made a controversial and, many think, regrettable decision by advising the Queen to appoint as his successor the Earl of Home (who then disclaimed his peerage and became Sir Alec Douglas-Home), although there were three other important contenders with strong support from within the party.

The Queen, some constitutional experts think, should not have been placed in the position of seeming to have to choose among contenders in this way. Subsequently, the Conservative Party changed its rules of procedure so that

on the resignation of one leader, it elected another leader to succeed him. The Queen was no longer brought into the controversy.

There remains another possibility. Minority parties are becoming more important in Britain. The Liberals' fortunes are at present on the decline, but in 1974 they were nearly 10 per cent of the popular vote. The Scottish Nationalists, at the next election, could well obtain a majority of Scotland's 71 seats. The next British government may have to be coalition drawing on several parties to obtain the necessary parliamentary majority.

A pivotal role?

This is a situation in which the Queen's role could become pivotal during the negotiations leading up to the formation of a new Cabinet. She would have to take advice not only from the outgoing prime minister but from leaders of the other parties capable of forming a government. The role of the monarch as an impartial arbiter is familiar in such countries with undiplomatic governments as Denmark and the Netherlands, but it will be new to Britain.

The wealth of experience Queen Elizabeth has absorbed during her quarter century as head of state should stand her in good stead should she ever be called upon to explore this unfamiliar constitutional terrain.

In private life the Queen seems happy and fulfilled. She and her husband, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, have different interests.

She likes horse racing; he prefers polo and cricket. He is of a scientific bent; she prefers the simple pleasures of a country woman. There are times when he has appeared to chafe under the restrictions placed on him by the self-disciplining, demanding role of prince consort. But the two complement each other remarkably well in the opinion of those close to both; and if in public life she is the sovereign, in private he is unquestionably head of the family.

In public life, also, the Duke has managed to carve out a distinctive niche for himself, including the freedom to sound off from time to time on subjects as politically sensitive and controversial as the welfare state.

"We have got to come back a little and not concentrate quite so heavily on the unsuccessful and the unfortunate."

the underprivileged but try to create a situation where the enterprising can make their contribution, which will also help the underprivileged," the Prince recently wrote in a magazine article. Predictably, Labour left-wingers pounced on the article, one member of Parliament called the Prince's remarks "impudent and ill-advised."

The Queen has had to live down many childhood anecdotes, some of them undoubtedly apocryphal. Once, it was said, she interrupted an adult conversation by banging a spoon on the table and shouting, "It's royalty talking." By most of the stories told about her since becoming Queen, she shows her attention to detail, her love of children, her consideration for others.

giving the fairy-tale magic that kings and queens have. And, she insists that on all royal tours children be taken to a position where they can easily see and hear her. Today is a working day, for this is when many other people have an opportunity to see their Queen. She keeps her engagements with care, avoiding corner-cutting ceremonies in favor of working institutions. She gives people to talk to. She likes most cabers, but not hats. She eats meat foods, but not mysters. She loves cars and is a keen horsewoman although unlike her sister, Princess Anne, she never progressed, nor indeed had time to progress, to the point of taking part in equestrian competitions. She is petite and has a beautiful complexion. Despite all her years in public life, her smile conveys an impression of natural shyness delicately overcome.

347, on her 21st birthday, the then Princess Elizabeth with her parents on a royal tour of South Africa (in 1947 she was still a member of the Commonwealth). In a speech at the Commonwealth commemorating her coming of age, the Princess recalled the motto of many other monarchs, "I serve." Then she made her own solemn

declare before you all that my whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your service and the service of our great Imperial family to which we all belong. I shall not have the strength to carry out this resolution unless you join in it with me, as I now invite you to do. God help me to make good my vow, and God bless you who are willing to share in it."

eller 'family'

"great imperial family" has shrunk since then, and Commonwealth, as well as Britain, has weathered storms. But the Queen is still constitutional monarch, the United Kingdom alone, but of Australia, the Bahamas, Barbados, Canada, Fiji, Grenada, Jamaica, Mauritius, New Zealand, Papua-New Guinea, and Trinidad and Tobago. She also is ceremonial head of a Commonwealth which includes Bangladesh, Botswana, Cyprus, Gambia, Guyana, India, Kenya, Lesotho, Malaysia, Malawi, Mauritania, Nigeria, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Uganda, Western Samoa, and Zambia.

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her reign may last. It is certain to be measured in
that ministry of reconciliation to which she has de-
voted life.

Elizabeth at Windsor
Bandphoto



from page 1

*New museum

better." The critics say it embodies the worst of the splashy artistic notions born in the 1950s and 1960s and now being harshly re-examined.

Sold Paris architect Philippe Boudon: "This edifice belongs to the same historical moment as high-rise buildings and the great urban complexes which now have been rejected."

The initial idea seems simple enough — even noble. "Artists must be able to meet, to exchange ideas, because isolated artistic work often leads to ecstasies or to a dulling of the creative impulse," Mr. Pompidou said in announcing the project seven years ago.

That kind of thinking recalled for some people the Bauhaus school of art and design which flourished in Germany between the wars, bringing together such architects and artists as Walter Gropius, Josef Albers, Mies van der Rohe, Wassili Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Fernand Léger and Oskar Schlemmer.

France would go beyond the industrially-oriented Bauhaus into fields wider than mere plastic arts and invite people from all walks of life to participate. It recalled the notions of cultural grandeur with which Charles de Gaulle and his Minister of Culture, André Malraux, helped put Paris back on the world's artistic map.

A major success for the center is the return of French composer Pierre Boulez, one of the world's leading experimental musicians. He will direct the Institute for Acoustic/Musical Research and Coordination (IRCAM) from a five-floor underground complex of studios, offices, libraries, laboratories, and special sound chambers.

One of the most costly parts of the center, IRCAM is the result of years of efforts to persuade Mr. Boulez to return from overseas, notably the United States. Mr. Boulez has become fascinated with the relationships between science and music. His study team is expected to include physicists, electronics and computer experts, psychologists, sociologists and linguists, and acoustic scientists.

But IRCAM, to open next September with a special independent charter and full government financing, also has drawn criticism. France already has a variety of public and semi-private musical research centers, all competing for government aid and personnel, and several specialists have asked why the nation needs yet another.

The question of financing in general has been a tough one. The futuristic, brightly-colored six-story building with its musical annex cost about \$200 million to produce and the estimated yearly operating budget is over \$25 million.

The new Secretary of State for Culture, François Groulx, took one look at the budget and in testimony last fall before Parliament commented that it seemed awfully expensive for the present economic times.

But perhaps the most controversial aspect of the new center is the building itself.

In order to leave the interior totally unobstructed, the building is supported by a stainless steel grid on the outside, surrounding the glass walls. Red-painted escalators snake up one side of the edifice. Another is covered with a maze of green, blue, orange and yellow ventilation pipes and electric fixtures.

Chosen among 881 different architectural proposals, the building is the work of two architects: Renzo Piano of Milan and Richard Rogers of London. It hardly blends with the serene neighborhood, one of Paris's oldest.

The families of three painters, Chagall, Braque and Rouault, live complained that the paintings they have donated will not get the proper attention in their multi-media surroundings. Lovers of more traditional art and music complain that their interests are languishing while the government pumps money into this new project.

And it is still not clear how well the bureaucrats and citizens will adjust to the idea of a people-oriented museum. The children's workshop, for example, despite all its organizers' care to make it responsive to people's needs, is expected to require advance registration — which could disappoint tourists.

The center is an audacious experiment but one which threatens to eat against the grain of current thinking.

*Carter's globe-trotters

Africa. There is anxiety in the back rooms of the State Department about the general situation in southern Africa. SALT II could go out the window overnight if the black-white issue in southern Africa degenerates into a guerrilla war with the Soviets backing the blacks. Détente would be a footnote to history.

As seen among British and American diplomats, the only safe way out for southern Africa is a negotiated and peaceful transition in Rhodesia from white to black rule. This would spare Moscow any temptation to intervene. It would head off any danger of a real confrontation between Moscow and Washington over southern Africa. It would give South Africa time in which to come to terms with its own black population.

The likely alternative is an unhappy one. Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith is at the moment in a condition of defiance of British and American policy. He has rejected the British proposal for a transition under British tutelage to black majority rule. Obviously, he hopes to get the backing of South Africa for his defiance. If he remains in his present condition of defiance and then gets military help from South Africa, the guerrilla war will escalate and the Soviets will certainly feel tempted to seek through that war a strong future position for themselves in black Africa.

There are already Cuban "advisers" with the black forces in training just outside Rhodesia. Soviet arms are arriving at the training camps. The most radical black leaders prefer the long guerrilla war to the peaceful transition. The long war would mean that they come out on top in the end. The peaceful transition could mean moderate blacks on top.

*Afrikaners speak out

Historian P. A. van Jaarsveld said, at a Cape Town conference on the future of the Afrikaner, that Afrikaners in 1976 "allowed the political initiative to slip out of their hands." The Afrikaner stands before what some Afrikaners consider an approaching and inevitable war. Moreover, the professor said, "he stands alone."

The professor, who six years ago wrote a school textbook that has been described as Nationalist "party political doctrine," said a conventional war would favor the Afrikaner, but a protracted war (terrorism) would be very dangerous to his society.

Another warning came from Dr. Andreas Wassenaar, a pillar of the Afrikaner community and, among other things, chairman of Sonlam, a large life insurance agency that has offices throughout the country. He said South Africa is "on the road to economic catastrophe."

Commenting on his new book, "Assault on Private Enterprise: The Freeway to Communism," Dr. Wassenaar said that state control of the economy "... only leads one way, to communism. If we carry on, we are heading for a communist state under an Afrikaner dictatorship."

One of the Nationalist Party's goals, when it came to power in 1948, was to break the English-speaking community's hold on the economy. This was done by forming or expanding numerous semi-state corporations by staffing them with Afrikaners.

The most important of these are the Industrial Development Corporation, which has played a big role in the search for oil, and the Sasol project, a huge project designed to convert coal to oil.

To show the trend: 30 percent of all whites who are employed work in the public sector. This proportion is likely to grow.

Of the 28 largest projects in the country, some 12.1 billion rand (\$13.9 billion) will be spent on public enterprises and only 706 million rand (\$81.9 million) by the private sector, according to the South African Financial Gazette.

The government will likely answer Dr. Wassenaar's charges in Parliament Feb. 4. But his accusations may merely sink into the apparently growing mow of nationalist apprehensions.

Observers expect, however, that if predictions of political disaster do not move the government, economic considerations might.

After all, the two simplest ways for the West to bring pressure to bear on South Africa for

least temporary relief against the threatened exhaustion of natural gas supplies to North Central states and even the Northeast.

As far as Harvard economics lecturer Thorne Stauffer — an expert on natural gas — points out, the administration's program is only a palliative. It is not a cure. It is at best an effort to ensure that hardships are shared. That it cannot be or do more is the result of the jam the United States has allowed itself to get into over natural gas.

Of all the fuels, natural gas is the most ideal: it is the least polluting and the most flexible. It carries with it one snag — its limited availability.

This has not prevented the American people, as Dr. Stauffer points out, from squandering it. And this squandering has been encouraged by some consumer advocates, often in the name of conservation. Politicians in the Congress — insisting that they were protecting consumer interests — have repeatedly regulated the vast market of natural gas whenever it is piped across state lines.

Today the retail price of natural gas is at half as expensive as that of heating oil in many parts of the country in terms of what it cost of either fuel to produce 1 million British thermal units (Btu). The result: (1) industries and householders have been reducing their other fuels when natural gas was available; and (2) natural gas producers have been reluctant to invest large sums in further natural gas exploration when (as they say) the Congress prevented them from making the most profitable margin which would make their efforts worthwhile.

The Carter administration's immediate crash program provides for temporary lifting of price controls on natural gas and the selling of gas from areas where some is still available to areas threatened with a cutoff.

Even if the new administration and the Congress are prepared to go further and through measures intended to encourage term natural gas exploration and production, really major effort will be needed. At present there is a 5 to 8 percent shortfall in natural gas supply each year in the U.S. Consequently, the U.S. to hold its own, much more will be needed than is already being done.

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Or, the U.S. could contrive a fall in the price of gold on the international market. The damage such a decline has on the South African economy already has been proved.

*Big three scramble

Indicates, that country badly needs Soviet economic aid — and it is likely to get at least some of what it seeks.

• The United States gave notice last week it wants to move back toward more normal ties with Vietnam. It has virtually no influence in North Korea.

But Western analysts stress that both Hanoi and Pyongyang want to retain as much independence as possible.

Moscow seems keen on making whatever inroads it can in other nations that share tensions with China. Moscow also must be worried at the potential influence of a China apparently trying to move away from the permanent revolution of the late Mao Tse-tung toward more stable domestic policies.

Moscow seems pleased with the results of its courting of Vietnam Communist Party Secretary Le Duun and other Vietnamese leaders.

The Soviets received Le Duun in Moscow a year ago with open arms and what some observers believe a virtually open-ended aid program.

The Soviet Press continually sings Hanoi's praises and cites evidence of progress there. Visitors to Hanoi report many signs of Soviet aid (and presumably of official favor) but few Chinese.

The United States, which tried for a quarter century to prevent a Communist government in Vietnam, is still a long way from any new footholds there, though last week's announcement may foreshadow some early moves by the Carter administration.

In North Korea the Soviets are moving carefully. It is thought — while high-level visits between Peking and Pyongyang continue.

Moscow is assumed to have blocked a visit here by President Kim after the Vietnam war (though Mr. Kim did visit Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia as well as China).

If he had come here, then gone home and

*Gas shortage

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Vilas: between sets, the beat of bongos

By Phil Elderkin

You're probably not going to believe this, but in the professional tennis world of Argentina's Guillermo Vilas, the trivia transcends the mon.

The outside interests that circle Vilas like a giant coil would break the concentration of most pro players and turn them into hopeless losers. But Guillermo is like a four-armed juggler. He can keep a lot of things going at once and not lose track of any of them.

Consider this: he has had two years of law school; he plays both the bongo drums and the flute; he probably reads more books a year than Orson Welles; he writes poetry and song lyrics; and he is into religion, philosophy and South American Indian history.

A volume of his poetry entitled "125" was published last year in Argentina and has since been translated from Spanish into English. But he will not explain the significance of the title. His reasoning has something to do with being able to turn his book into a commercial property while privately keeping part of it for himself.

Vilas's first real tennis teacher was a barber named Felipe Locicero, who didn't play that well himself but who learned to instruct others by studying the strokes of great players and then practicing them in front of a mirror. "This is probably equivalent to Johnny Bench taking a correspondence course in catching high-speed baseballs."

While left-handers are generally expected to have a weakness in their backhands, Guillermo plays as if it were the

first shot he ever mastered. He is also able to return balls with power while still on the run, something few players ever do well and most try to avoid.

"Vilas is a man you have to heat because he never beats himself," said Arthur Ashe. "He comes prepared. If you let up even a little against him, he'll sense it and take advantage of your mistake. And his consistency is probably as good as anybody's in the pro game. He seems to know just when to put the pressure on."

Guillermo grew up on a large estate in the resort city of Mar del Plata in Argentina, where his father was a wealthy lawyer. With no other children his own age nearby, he turned to other things as a means of keeping busy.

"My friends were the birds, the trees, my bicycle — things like that," he explained. "I eventually took up tennis because I allowed me to play at a club where I could meet people. I was very bad player at first, so I quickly play a lot to get over my embarrassment and improve my game."

Actually Vilas learned quite rapidly. He started playing tournaments at 13, mostly in Buenos Aires. Two years later he competed in the Orange Bowl tennis classic in Miami and at 17 was chosen to represent Argentina in the Davis Cup.

After finishing 25th in the Commercial Union Grand Prix standings in 1973, Guillermo had seasonal years on the pro circuit in 1974 and 1975.

In less than 24 months he won 11 Grand Prix titles, plus the Masters (No. 74) on grass in Melbourne. He was No. 1 in Commercial Union total points at the end of both years — a position worth exactly \$200,000 in bonus money.

Although Vilas seems small at 5 ft. 11 in. when compared with someone like Stan Smith, his stamina is at least as good and probably superior. Like Rod Laver, he has never found practice a bore. Also like Laver, his backhand has outstanding topspin.

But he has not let tennis crowd everything else out of his life.



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer
Guillermo Vilas

"While tennis is my profession and while I want to be the best, I am always a person first," Guillermo said. "There is more to life than traveling and hitting a ball and making lots of money."

"I do not want to play tennis at the expense of everything else," he continued. "That to me would be foolish. Yet even if there were no prize money, I probably would play everyday for the fun of it."

"You couldn't statement for a pro tennis player, you say? Perhaps. But oh so honest!"

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Skiers — on your toes!

By Judith Frutic
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Los Angeles

Now that snow has finally come to Western ski resorts, instructors are unpacking their gear and taking to the slopes.

But in one high-altitude Colorado ski resort, the weeks of waiting have produced some changes that could eventually revolutionize the American style of ski instruction, according to veteran ski school director Robel Straubhart. The instructors are now practicing movements not usually seen near ski slopes — the plié, the relevé, and the pirouette.

For in Crested Butte, Colorado, a tiny mining-town-turned-ski-resort, 240 miles southwest of Denver, classical ballet has come to the ski school.

"Skiing," says Mr. Straubhart, a transplanted Swiss, "is like falling in love... It takes a long time to get to know your ski, to see what it can do with you rather than fighting it."

"Ballet teaches a person how to relax... It makes the skis work for you instead of against you."

At Crested Butte, instructors have been taking optional ballet lessons for four years. They are taught by Mr. Straubhart's wife, Shirley, a trained dancer. But this winter, blue skies and dry slopes forced skiers to condition themselves in new and different ways.

That means mandatory ballet training for all instructors — clad in gym shorts, leotards, and ski boots — weaved about ballet practice bars, word began to spread, until:

— In December, at a meeting of the Rocky Mountain Coaches Association, an organization which includes representatives of every major ski school west of Chicago, a performer from the Civic Ballet of Denver was asked to demonstrate what ballet can do for ski conditioning.



"She showed us why some of our exercises were worthless," said one participant. For example: jumping jacks. "After 20 jumping jacks," she told them, "you're not warmed up, you're tired."

And knee bends: "they are extremely no good," said Mr. Straubhart. "You get too loose."

Instead, the ballet dancer demonstrated that the foot has three pressure points that form a triangle. In skiing, when you build up the triangles, your balance improves.

Next May, a pilot ski-ballet program is scheduled to begin in Crested Butte that includes junior ski racers. Co-sponsored by Pete Steiger, the program is expected to feature daily ballet classes, progressing from ballet slippers to dancing in ski boots.

— In Taos, New Mexico, where ballet is not required, several instructors have started ballet classes on their own.

financial

Transnationals: what every host government and guest company ought to know

In this second of two articles, the vice-president for corporate action of Cummins Engine Company discusses five points of conflict between transnational corporations and host governments. The articles have been condensed from a speech by the executive, whose company does business in more than 100 countries.

By James A. Joseph

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Mascher, Lesotho
Because our global village is becoming more economically interrelated, the development and growth of transnational corporations is rapidly accelerating.

At the same time, measures safeguarding both the interests of the transnational corporation and of its host country need to be closely examined to be sure that the best interests of both are served.

Five areas bear special scrutiny: pricing and reinvesting of earnings, disclosure, ethical practices, and relations between governments, and the problem of competitive disadvantage.

• **Pricing and reinvestment of earnings.** Transfer pricing continues to be a major source of conflict between transnational corporations and host countries. The term refers to accounting devices that shift cost, and therefore profits, from one affiliate to another or from one office within an affiliate to another.

Transfer pricing techniques are often used so a firm can allow lower profits in countries with relatively higher rates of taxation. This practice is difficult for host countries to control.

To eliminate suspicion and to place the working agreement on a sound footing, standards of disclosure should be agreed upon at the outset. It may also be wise during the negotiating process to set standards for the reinvestment of earnings to facilitate additional development.

While no firm is likely to agree to investments in areas in which it does not have

some expertise, it is possible to develop standards that require investments in areas serving both the interest of the firm and the national interest of the host country.

• **Disclosure.** Much of the criticism of transnational corporations and of governments that cooperate with them stems from the fact that the public is often ill-informed about the activities of the transnationals.

Full public disclosure should begin with the principal terms of the agreement between the host country and the company. It may also be useful to require disclosure of the number of nationals employed at various levels, the percentage of material from local sourcing, and the amount of local taxes paid.

• **Ethical practices.** It is incumbent on host country governments to force the companies to compete solely on the basis of quality, price, and service.

The UN "eminent persons" report on problems of transnational firms suggests that "host countries should clearly define the permissible activities of the affiliates of multinational corporations and also prescribe sanction against infractions."

Many multinationals are busy devising policies and techniques for ensuring that their businesses are conducted everywhere in a legal and ethical manner. It is important that African governments do the same.

The problem often is not simply that some businesses are willing to make under-the-table payments to gain a competitive advantage. There often seem to be as many public officials seeking bribes and kickbacks as there are firms willing to pay them. It is not an exaggeration to say that, in some cases, passing money between business firms and government officials is more akin to extortion than bribery.

Regarding political participation, the corporations should refrain from partisan political involvement, although their role as trustees of the public good may, on occasion, require



Accra, Ghana

By Gordon H. Conover, chief photographer

Europe meets Africa more and more often

some form of public action. Such action should be based on both self-regulatory standards and local customs and laws.

• **Relations between governments.** Transnational corporations are occasionally accused of being agents of foreign governments. African nations are especially concerned about the relationship between the companies and the foreign policy of their home country.

On the other hand, when home country officials raise the question about appropriate regulatory requirements for economic institutions operating abroad, they run into the problem of extraterritoriality.

Here the concern is with the role of the home country government in dealing with transnational institutions. What regulations are appropriate? Is it proper to require business corporations operating abroad to meet minimum standards of responsibility? Are their values so basic to universal standards of human dignity that they should be required in all cultural and social contexts?

Government officials are still debating these

questions. With respect to equal opportunity and human dignity, it is proper for a home country government to provide incentives for compliance with minimum standards of responsibility and disincentives for non-compliance.

• **Competitive disadvantage.** The argument is frequently made that a host country government imposing certain minimum standards on its transnational institutions places them at a competitive disadvantage with companies from other industrialized nations. It may be that the line has come to develop bilateral agreements in which two nations pledge themselves to reciprocity in regard to institutions operating in each other's territories and in other common areas.

The nation-state should exercise its legitimate right to force foreign investors to adhere to minimum standards of responsibility. When such regulatory standards exist, the transnational corporation should adopt its own standards, not simply because it is right, but because it is in its long-term interest.

A call for authority and leadership

'You will get no sugar candy,' French Premier warns business

By Philip W. Whitcomb

Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Paris
Raymond Barre, France's 32nd minister of economy and finance since 1964, fortified by the added title of "Prime Minister," gave French business leaders a shock earlier this month that may mark the beginning of the country's economic recovery.

The 400 business chiefs at the "1977 forecast" seminar organized by French television and the magazine Expansion were startled by Mr. Barre's first words, then gradually brought to a mood of real enthusiasm.

"I shall speak to you as no French prime minister ever spoke to you before," he said. And he proceeded to do so.

Either you are real chiefs and will deal with today's problems on your own authority, he told them, or you are not chiefs. In that case you will sit back and beg for sugar candy from the state.

"You will receive no sugar candy," he said. "With state gifts and subsidies, increased family allocations and old age pensions, reduced working hours and early retirement, all and

the other golden gifts promised by the leftists, you can buy immediate employment and apparent growth.

"And then the bill must be paid and the last state will be worse than the first. These alleged remedies would diminish exports by raising prices, thus weakening the demand for francs, reducing the value of the franc, increasing the cost of all our imports and of all our oil, and producing galloping inflation.

"It's the rule just now to speak of the 'Barre plan,'" he continued. "I am not following a plan, but a policy. And you may be absolutely certain that it is a policy of total truth, of absolute determination, and of unrelenting persistence."

The second theme, the French economy in 1977, brought a flood of futurology, against which Mr. Barre quoted an aphorism from London's Economist, which may be paraphrased thus: "Navigating a ship is more than watching a radar screen." The radar in this case consisted of an early December poll of France's 500 largest companies and of the series of huge deficits France piled up last year.

According to the poll of business chiefs:

- 86 percent viewed 1977 with pessimism.
- 83 percent believed that under the Barre regime economic growth could not be maintained.
- 65 percent held that inflation will not be checked (58 percent forecast it between 8 and 12 percent).
- 63 percent said salaries would continue to rise.

The other overhanging black cloud, that of various deficits of 1976, was concealed in the French press by the far more delectable battles between the five main factions on the political right and the five on the left.

For example, the need for greater efficiency (official figures show that 40 percent more man-hours are needed to produce a ton of steel in France than in Germany) was eclipsed by a fascinating political fight as to whether employees should or should not be organized into political groups.

But the 1976 deficits remained: \$7 billion or \$8 billion over-spent in the state budget, \$3 billion or \$4 billion in the social security budgets, and exports that failed by \$4 billion or \$5 billion to pay for imports, including all of France's oil.

Dealing harshly with the current fashion of asking people whether or not they "believe in the Barre plan," the Prime

Minister said, "Whether the heads of business 'believe' or not in the government policy is utterly unimportant.

"Our purpose is neither to invigorate nor to inspire you as heads of your own businesses. It's your own obligation to invigorate and inspire yourselves. That's part of your duty as chiefs. You are each the leader of a business. Then go ahead and lead."

This approach is also evident in the Barre policy of refusing to deal with economic problems across the board, but to enter into agreements separately with each type of enterprise and each region on prices, wages, and exports. Thereafter a "negative control" is to be exercised; that is, the only penalty for failing to keep such an agreement will be withholding of government fiscal and other advantages.

During his talk and the questions and answers, there was a shift from suspicion and resentment to an understanding of the new policy and, momentarily at least, real enthusiasm.

One cause for it was Barre's vigorous defense of business and their leaders as the vital, and at present unappreciated, factors in French life — providing most of the employment, most of the money to support the state, and all of the exports, which pay for France's oil and imported goods.

Canham awarded world council medal

By a staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Erwin D. Canham, editor emeritus of The Christian Science Monitor, received the World Business Council's Medal of Honor on Jan. 28 at Marco Island, Florida.

The award, a sterling silver medal with a scarlet ribbon, is presented "to honor great men who contribute with high moral sensitivity to the human order." Mr. Canham is the first recipient of the award.

The World Business Council, a group of selected business leaders, meets three times a year to study world problems under the guidance of top experts. Mr. Canham spoke at the group's meeting in Florida in addition to accepting the award.

education/science

Money troubles hamper UN university

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York
The United Nations University, launched with much hope and idealism a year ago, is in considerable trouble.

The aim was to establish an international center for continuing and carrying out research into topics especially relevant to the developing world.

This university-without-students was to be financed by the income from a \$500 million endowment fund so as to give it a certain measure of freedom from annual financial (and hence political) pressures.

But 15 months after it first opened the doors of its headquarters in Tokyo, it is being buffeted by heavy pressures:

• The hoped-for contributions from governments for the essential \$500 million endowment fund have failed to materialize. World recession, misunderstandings about the nature of the body, unwillingness with the need for large, once-only contributions rather than smaller annual subscriptions — all these factors have gotten "UNU" off to a bad start.

Japan, the main sponsor of the university, has put in \$40 million of its promised \$100 million. Another \$20 million Japanese contribution has been pledged and, harrumphing, should be delivered next month.

But all other countries' contributions add up

to a paltry \$3 million, with only \$13 million promised over the next five years.

The Japanese are unhappy over this lopsided funding. They are concerned that it makes the university appear to be a Japanese institution.

• As if these financial problems were not enough, members of the UN's Budgetary Committee have been critical of the nascent university's programs.

A number of countries represented on the committee say that the programs and priorities set by UNU's American rector, James M. Hester, have not been developed precisely enough.

• In an ominous move, a UN General Assembly committee recently adopted by consensus a resolution calling for the university to set up a "chair of nonalignment."

Some delegates see this as a natural area of study for the university. But the United States and other Western countries express reservations lest it represent the beginnings of pressures to politicize the university's activities.

Dr. Hester, the former president of New York University, is well aware of the pressures and challenges he faces in getting the university started on an independent basis that retains its academic integrity.

Far from being alone, he says, he and senior members of his 40-member staff have visited some 35 countries in the past year. He adds that when he has been able to explain the purpose of the university, he has met with enthusiasm.

Noise invades the wilderness

Effect of man-made sounds unknown

By David F. Sellshy
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

The often-jarring noises of man's activities are penetrating deeper and deeper into wilderness areas, but their effects on wildlife are far from understood.

The reason for this lack of understanding involves not just the newness and complexity of this research area — but also the way information is gathered for environmental impact studies, says Judy S. Ruth, a former U.S. Environmental Protection Administration (EPA) noise expert who works with Engineering Dynamics, Inc., in Littleton, Colorado. A number of other environmental scientists agree with her assessment.

Dr. Ruth was in charge of compiling the noise-related impacts of the proposed Arctic natural gas pipeline. The companies which want to build this second pipeline across Alaska are waiting for Federal Power Commission approval.

In a recent meeting of the Acoustical Society of America, the ex-EPA scientist summarized what is known and what is not known about this topic.

Animal reactions noted

The gas-line studies, done in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act by the Bureau of Land Management, chronicle animal reactions to the type of noise that would accompany the pipeline. Primarily, this involves survey flights by helicopters or airplanes and the racket of pumping stations.

The studies noted the reaction of grizzly bears when buzzed by an airplane flying at an altitude of 200 feet or less.

"But this does not tell me what happens to the bear, how its survival is affected," explains Dr. Ruth. "There are so many unanswered questions."

In the gas pipeline study "there was a lot of data — yet it was not sufficient for writing a real impact statement," she says.

What is needed in many cases are long-term



What will man's racket do to him?

studies after a project like the pipeline is completed; studies which would detail actual animal reactions to various types of changes, she says.

Instead, the process of preparing environmental impact statements all too often involves only the gathering of baseline environmental data. Without in-depth scientific studies, these data cannot be used to actually assess the impact of a project, she says.

A further problem with research done for environmental impact statements is the fact that much of the research disappears after the statement is written, says Dr. Ruth.

"There are only two or three copies of some of the noise studies," she says. And these are not referenced in a way that other scientists could easily find them. So she is concerned that they, too, will just disappear and be repeated at some later date.

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Every classroom needs a ship

By Lucia Mowat

Washington
When it is birthday time for any youngster in Convent St. Martin's sixth-grade class, he or she gets to celebrate by riding a large ship's hull in the corner of the room.

This is not just any bell, but a bonus from the Hendersonville, North Carolina, class's correspondence with a United States flagship under the Adopt-A-Ship program sponsored by the Propeller Club of America.

Through the program, some 317 fifth- to eighth-grade classrooms around the country exchange letters and information with an American merchant ship every four to six weeks.

It is purely voluntary for the steamship companies, but more than half the U.S. flag fleet participates. And all signs are that they, too, get something out of the exchange.

"Your students emit a good old-fashioned innocence... wrote the captain of the U.S. Santa Cruz to a Berlin,

Mayland, teacher last year. "Then warmth is an inspiration to me and I'm sure to you."

The stated aim of the sponsors is to convince the youngsters of the need for an adequate merchant marine and to develop their interest in the seagoing professions.

However, to hear the teachers tell it, the more direct gains for the children are in the joys of vicarious travel and the sharpening of creative writing and other school skills.

Mrs. Martin, for instance, whose class has adopted a ship every year since 1963, has had her students do everything from writing poetry and plays and drawing pictures to developing math problems based on the Adopt-A-Ship experience.

"I just can't imagine a class without a ship," she says. "It makes social studies so much more realistic."

Students often chat by mail about their own activities from ballet to football and ask about everything from on-ship recreation and

weather to sea animals and customs in ports visited by the ships. The teachers try to keep the questions, as one puts it, "on the sensible side," and limit the number of letters per packet to 12 or less, so the answering crew is not overwhelmed by the task or replying.

While letters are at the heart of the adoption program, many classes have come in for some rather solid fringe benefits in the form of school visits by the ship captains (who are often asked for their autographs), visits to the ships in port (assignments are made with this possibility in mind), and occasionally packages containing everything from ship menus and paintings to food and rocks from ports visited.

Joanne Weber's fifth-grade class in Whitehall, Pennsylvania, for instance, has been corresponding this year with a U.S. military supply vessel which travels to Scotland and Spain. A few weeks ago, it sent a large package of canned octopus ("no one wanted a bite, but I think it was partly my attitude"), squid, Spanish cookies, and snapshots. Mrs. Martin's class, in receipt of chopsticks, pottery, carvings and seashells, has its own museum of ship memorabilia.

Clearly package openings are an event in themselves. The suspense as to what is inside is intense. One youngster observed in his written thank-you note: "Everyone was jumping and cheering and red in the face."

Both the ship's crew and the teachers send yearly reports to the Propeller Club which may shift assignments or continue the same class-ship "teams," according to requests.

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home

Bedrooms to enjoy in the light of day

By Margaret de Miravel
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Household linens are becoming more closely aligned to high fashion with all the frills and turlowels of ethnic trends, 19th-century romanticism, and growing emphasis on coordination.

This winter French housewives are restocking their linen cupboards as if there were no tomorrow although sheets, towels, and all the matching accessories are priced infinitely higher than those outside France. Even at the Prisunic (the closest thing to Woolworth's) the least expensive single white sheet costs the equivalent of \$8. Anything in color, printed, or embroidered, soars to pinnacles at Parfumerie, the luxury shop on the Avenue Montaigne where a pair of double bed sheets and matching pillow cases trimmed with delicate embroidery (machine made even so) can sell for as much as \$600. The only "bargain" is a washcloth for \$13.

On a down-to-earth basis practically is as essential as aesthetic appeal for the average consumer. Once the greatest demand was for pure cotton, linen, or even silk crepe de chine sheets, but today, 80 percent of the sales are in synthetics, often drip dries imported from the U.S., or their French counterparts which drip all right but do not get around to drying very fast.

More and more women are doing their own laundry at home, not only for economic reasons, but also to assure a longer life-span for their linens. French laundries are among the finest in the world, but they use enormous amounts of bleach, strong soaps, and starches. While the sheets and shirts come back looking like new, one tends to discover narrowing tears and splits once they are unfolded from their crisp cellophane wrappers. Prints and colored bedlinens also cost far more to launder than plain white sheets which are one of the items

that the government has imposed a price ceiling on in an attempt to prove that the cost of living here is more or less stable.

Contoured bottom sheets are opening new horizons for those who cope with the daily chore of bedmaking. In France the only hitch is the different size of mattresses which are the antithesis of standardization, and the sheet is either too small and must be stretched so taut that it promptly rips at the corners or proves to be far too large and billows about like a parachute. It is just one more example of French individualism, and beds are manufactured in almost as many sizes as there are species of Camembert cheese.

While coordination is still a far cry from the wondrous realms of the American bedroom, bathroom, and closet shops (with everything color coded and the mix and match prints and solids) the latest happening here is the sale of yard goods in the same material and pattern as the sheets and pillow cases. The possibilities are endless for everything from a nightdress or peignoir to curtains, dressing table skirts, even place mats and napkins for a breakfast tray.

Two ranking designers, Anne de Solene and Primrose Bordier, are almost as well known as the couturiers. Every January they bring out vast new collections and evolve designs from the best sellers for the following year.

According to Anne de Solene, overall trends often change drastically from one year to the next. But for the past few seasons everyone is on the romantic wave-length with an occasional nod to ethnic patterns, especially for juniors. Her newest prints are breathtaking, making it almost tempting to stay in bed all day. Florals are the best sellers, featuring soft hazy designs in gentle pastels on white or light backgrounds. Many patterns evoke the popular border styles which need such skillful handling in dressmaking; wide solid-toned edgings framing concentrated bouquets spaced out toward the center of the sheet. The coordinated yardage is a repeat pattern scaled to one meter.



Designer linens from the Anne de Solene collection

What did it take to build pyramids and move armies? Onions!

By Peter Tonge

Weymouth, Massachusetts
A 19th-century gourmet expressed my sentiments exactly when he said: "Without the onion there would be no gastronomic art. Banish it from the kitchen and all pleasure of eating flies with it. Its absence reduces the rarest dainty to insipidity, and the diner to despair."
Apparently this love affair with onions extends back into prehistory. Onions, according to inscriptions, fed the tolling builders of the pyramids and the conquering armies of Alexander the Great

ate onions all the way to India. More recently, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant wrote the War Department: "I will not move my armies without onions."

Now home gardeners do not have to feed armies (even if at times it may seem like it) so that a relatively small onion patch can contribute significantly to the family larder. Last fall I harvested a little in excess of two bushel baskets full from a 4x10-foot patch — and as of this writing we are still enjoying them.

If there is one secret to growing onions (and this includes garlic, shallots, leeks, and bunching onions), it is to feed and wa-

ter them well. They are heavy feeders, and because they are shallow rooted they need moisture near the surface of the soil.

Dig in as much compost or manure (or both) as you can spare — up to about three pounds per square foot if your soil is poor. If the manure is fresh, turn it into the soil at least a week before planting.

For my part I spread an inch or so of shredded leaves over the garden and turn this into the top three inches of soil. Then I follow up by spreading a one-inch layer of mature compost over the whole bed. I plant my onion sets directly into this compost.

Last year I sprinkled some 5-10-10 fertilizer over half the onion bed and found it made no difference to the production, suggesting that the one-inch compost layer was adequate. Without compost, however, I would probably incorporate four to five pounds of 5-10-10 per 100 square feet of garden about a week before planting.

You can grow onions from seed, by buying started plants, or from sets (small onions about the size of a dime). I have grown my largest onions from seed by starting them indoors in winter. Nursery-bought plants have done well, too, but invariably I've lost some to cold spring winds. Now I use sets. They are by far the easiest and can be harvested early enough in my area (late July) so that a late quick-growing crop can follow.

Last year I replaced the onions with snap beans, peas, and a row of Brussels sprouts. Carrots and beets are other alternatives. By harvesting so early I do sacrifice a little size as the onions could continue growing for another full month.

In early spring I plant the sets in wide beds, leaving about two inches between

each set. As the plants grow I thin out the bed, using the thinnings as scallions. The sets are pressed into the soil so that just the top is left protruding. Too deep planting results in thick stems (perfectly edible but no good for storing) and no bulbs.

Weeds should be kept out of the patch — a tiresome but rewarding task. On the other hand, I have read of one gardener who avoids weeds with a newspaper mulch. He spreads wet newspaper, a few sheets thick, over the plot and then makes little holes where he plants the onions. It works very well apparently and the newspaper slowly decomposes as the onions grow.

Onions grow tops in cool weather and form bulbs when it is hot.

When half or more of the onion tops have fallen, the remaining upright tops should be pressed over. This stops any further top growth and adds a little more size to the bulbs. When the tops eventually turn brown, pull the onions and leave them until the roots have dried out and become brittle.

I leave my onions to dry for about two weeks on a wire screen after which they are stored in a cool place in wire baskets where the air can freely circulate.

In Brief
Soil: Rich, fertile loam. Dig generous amounts of compost or old manure into the top few inches of soil. Or spread one inch of compost on the surface.

Planting: Set out as soon as soil can be easily worked.

Culture: Shallow-rooted plants require regular watering in dry weather. Keep free of weeds. Side dress with old manure or fertilizer when bulbs begin to form.



travel

Japan: contrasts to be savored

By Itainer Degmann-Schwarz
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The monk displayed great patience toward us... great patience indeed. For what must have seemed like the 100th time, he attempted to explain the prescribed body position for meditation: legs crossed, spine bent concave, body protruding, face toward the wall, and eyes slightly lowered.

The monk, a member of the Zen Buddhist sect, exuded the first futile attempts with the comment that beginners usually need a year to master the exercise. And only then would it be possible to enter upon actual spiritual training, which over the course of time is supposed to lead to self-perfection.

Our guide added that as a Zen Buddhist he spends several hours a day and, once a year, two whole weeks in this position. The supervisor of his office in Tokyo grants him a special leave for the two-week period.

Japan plunges visitors into a world of extremes. Only a few steps separate the place of meditation from the turbulence of metropolitan Tokyo. A never-ending flow of traffic constantly races through this city of 11 million inhabitants; superhighways form a layer above houses of wood, bamboo, and paper. And under all these most modern subway systems in the world winds its way.

Never-ending streams of people pour through Tokyo streets. And in the world-renowned Ginza district, the night stroller is bombarded by a veritable avalanche of neon lights. In the midst of this swirling spectacle, behind 10-foot-stone walls which make it a refuge of peace and quiet, lies the heart of Japan — the Imperial palace.

This city surpasses all conception: 100 universities, 3 opera houses, 500 movie theaters, 100 newspapers, 35,000 taxis, 25 large department stores.

The department stores are in and of themselves almost small cities, having subway stations, children's playgrounds, restaurants,



Kiyomizudera Temple in Kyoto stands in silent contrast to...



...the hustle, bustle of downtown Tokyo

Photos by Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

marriage chapels, travel agencies, and permanent art exhibits. Despite the hectic pace and the tumult, a receptionist finds time to greet each customer with a bow.

Kyoto is entirely different from Tokyo. It is also a city of well over 1 million inhabitants, but it is not seized by the fever of unrest.

From 794 B.C. to A.D. 1868 Kyoto was the capital of Japan, and from this era date the more than 200 Shinto shrines and 1,500 Buddhist temples which are visited by 20 million pilgrims and tourists annually.

But that number should not alarm the quiet-loving visitor. The Japanese trip noiselessly and in a disciplined manner through the temple gardens with their fabulous floral displays, lakes, and tea houses — the Japan of 200 years ago.

Just about every visitor to Japan hopes — usually in vain — to get acquainted with a geisha. The function of the geisha toward her guest is strictly limited to entertainment during the evening meal in the form of conversation, dancing, and music. Kyoto's "Gion Corner" is known throughout Japan for its geisha-frequented restaurants.

As a 16-year-old meiko (a geisha hopeful) explained, it is difficult for the average tourist to come by such illustrious company. Kyoto's 160 to 180 geishas are, as is the case in all the target cities, generally booked up in advance. Above and beyond this, for such a rendezvous it is necessary to have an introductory meeting at the "o-zashiki" (geisha restaurant) and to make table reservations for that at least three to five weeks in advance. The price for the evening is between \$100 and \$200.

Nonetheless, a small compensation can be found in Kyoto's Yasako Theater. There, every day geishas and maikos provide a glimpse into the Japanese way of life through music and dance.

Bathing is the big passion of the Japanese and is enjoyed at any time of day — but especially before the evening meal. The tourist should at least try a Japanese-style communal bath (common in ryokan, or country inns). These are separated according to sex. First one performs the bathing rituals which serve the purpose of regeneration, not athletics. After a preliminary rubdown with soap, followed

by a shower, one takes a dip into progressively hotter pools and then rubs himself dry with wet towels. What follows is yet another short bath.

Then comes the evening meal itself. Tokyo alone offers about 30,000 restaurants. The adventurer who does not shy away from a pinch of the exotic may find himself in seventh culinary heaven. Fish (raw, broiled, steamed, garnished with seaweed, sea-cucumber, kelp, sage, rice, and radish); octopus; shrimp; and crab — to say nothing of the paper-thin slices of meat rolled in egg yolk (sukiyaki). Two-end-a-half-foot-long noodles may baffle the uninitiated bravely doing battle with the unaccustomed chopsticks — until, of course, he abandons his Western table manners and slurps the Japanese way.

Japan has many faces: the metropolitan cities of Tokyo and Osaka, connected by rail by the Shinkansen Super Express, which travels at more than 125 miles per hour and leaves every seven minutes, the national park around Mount Fuji, the mountains on the northern island of Hokkaido, the rice fields, industrial areas, and fishing villages.

For some incomprehensible reason, the fishing villages are, for all practical purposes, shunned by tourists. But this neglect is a mistake. I visited Nakiri on the Shima peninsula and found the people friendly and the way of life interesting.

The lighthouse was still sending its light out to sea when a tug pulled three fishing boats out into the Pacific. "Ten years ago," said Tohki, the fisherman who let me ride with him, "we put out the nets twice a day, but today the catch doesn't bring in so much any more." As a result, the wives of many of these fishermen help support their households in an unusual manner: Every morning they don rubber suits and dive into the ocean. They repeat this for hours until the containers they take with them are filled with seaweed and mussels.

I enjoyed Tokyo and Kyoto, certainly. But I enjoyed my time with these sturdy Japanese fishermen and their families even more.

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people



Cleveland Amory, animal crusader

"To eat like a hummingbird, a man would have to eat 370 lbs. of potatoes a day"

Cleveland Amory — advice columnist for the animal set

Boston

Have you heard?
• In Knoxville, Tennessee, it is illegal to lasso a fish.
• Two-thirds of all living creatures on earth are beetles.
• It is healthier to kiss your dog than your mother.

• In Denver, the law requires that dog catchers must notify dogs of impending hypothermia at a park tree.

• In Little Rock, Arkansas, dogs are not allowed to bark after 6 p.m.

All of the above is common knowledge to avid readers of Cleveland Amory's "Animal," a newspaper column on its way to becoming the animal's "Dear Abby." As founder and president of the 100,000-member Fund for Animals, Mr. Amory has been offering "advice to the pet" for the last three years and answering such essential and petty (no pun intended) questions as: "What's wrong with dog racing anyway? Is mother nature really a male chauvinist? What chimpanzee got rich by painting?"

His favorite columns have recently been printed in a new book (also entitled "Animal") which Mary Tyler Moore — the proud owner of a little poodle and a hulking German shepherd — calls an "Everything you've always wanted to know but were afraid to ask" book.

Cleveland Amory, that sardonic wit and "curmudgeon at large" who got his start here in Boston 28 years ago when he wrote "The Proper Bostonians," was back in town recently to talk about other endangered species.

Ritz recollections

Mr. Amory had returned (from a weekend whale conservation conference in California) to the mecca of Brahmin Boston, the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, where he sat in the breakfast room, wearing a denim leisure suit and a face that looked like a cuddly cross between that of Beethoven and Bert Lahr. Between bites of stirred eggs and English muffin, he expounded on his new book, "Animal," and reminisced over those delicate duns gone past when the Ritz perfumed its elevators.

Mr. Amory confided that white gentlemen may prefer blondes and pedigreed pups, he is a mutt man himself. "Show me a purebred and what have you got? A show dog. But show me a mutt and you've got it all — the world by the tail."

"The once proud 'person' of a pair of Siba-

rian huskies confessed that for the moment he is petless. Furthermore, his personal preference has shifted to cats, the underdog of the pet world. "I used to be a dog person, but now I'm a cat person." He says, "I've seen so many cats with so little prospect of finding a home . . . I think they need all the help they can get."

It all began . . .

Mr. Amory, who joined the fight against cruelty to animals after attending a bullfight in Mexico, admits that his own past is not spotless. "There are two things I will always regret . . . when I was a kid: I shot a bird with a BB gun . . . and I kept a raccoon as a pet. I even once took it to a dance at Millon Academy. I couldn't decide between two girls so I took my raccoon."

Since then Mr. Amory has reformed his ways enough to become known as America's leading "animal person." His organization is frequently referred to as the "Army of the Kind." The New York-based fund now is fighting for the repeal of leg-hold traps in various states, a nationwide ban on the importation of pate de foie gras from Europe because of the force-feeding methods used on the geese, and continuation of a boycott on Japanese products because of that country's continued commercial harvest of whales.

Despite his campaign against cruelty to animals, Mr. Amory has maintained his sense of humor and still manages time to come up with such tidbits and trivia in his column as: where the expression "charley horse" originated (coined from a horse named Charley who dragged the infield of the Chicago White Sox ballpark in the 1880s and developed a peculiar limp); Chicago was named after an animal (Chicago or Sikako comes from the Cree Indian word sikak or skunk); only female wasps sting; penguins have an extraordinarily low divorce rate; and in Topeka, Kansas, it is illegal to worry a squirrel.

Under normal circumstances it is highly improper, if not illegal, to gaze at other people's letters. But any friend of animals is a friend of Cleveland Amory, and he doesn't mind his "friends" poking their snouts into a slight sample of his recent "Animal."

Dear Mr. Amory . . .

Q. My dog has had breath. What do I do?
A. — F. A. C., N.Y.

Q. You're his best friend — tell him. No, A. I'm kidding. First, try brushing his

teeth. Biscuits and bones won't do the job. I know of a man whose German shepherd was brought up from puppyhood to have his teeth brushed regularly.

Q. Why do people say he or she eats like a bird? It seems to me birds eat a lot. — R. W., Pebble Beach, Calif.

A. People shouldn't say it — and birds do eat a lot. To eat proportionately as much as a hummingbird, a man would have to consume 285 pounds of meat or 370 pounds of boiled potatoes — every day.

Q. What is the difference between a gnu and a wildebeeste? — F. B., Portsmouth, N.H.

A. None — except they're both tough to pronounce.

Q. What do you think of those funny poodle cuts? — M. B., Kingston, Tenn.

A. I think they're awful. They look like sheep who've been halfway through the sheep dip.

Q. Why do you think that more women seem to prefer cats as pets and more men seem to prefer dogs? — C. G., Middleville, Ga.

A. Based on my own private poll, a lot of women like cats because they identify with, or at least strongly appreciate, the cat's independence and self-possession. On the other hand, men like the image of the devoted dog curled at their feet — the faithful companion who would follow them unquestioningly, anywhere.

Q. You wrote not long ago about cats being smarter than dogs. Well, you've never heard of a Seeing Eye cat, have you? — A. S., Garden Grove, Calif.

A. Loath as we are to lose your friendship — yes, we have. Her name is Rhubarb, and she's 10 years old.

Q. What is the most valuable dog? — C. D., Youngstown, Ohio.

A. Yours — and if you have the right relationship with him, no amount of money could ever pay for him.

By Larry Davis

Where in Germany can you buy the weekly international edition of

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arts

80 million Americans watch a black family struggle 200 years for freedom

By Arthur Unger

Sculpt a mammoth chunk of marble, too huge to be ignored, and the world will hail you as a sculptor. Paint a broad enough canvas, and a painter is what you are.

Alex Haley's "Roots" is a gargantuan family saga, pre-sold to the American public first in book form and now in television form: "Roots" (Some 80 million Americans watched the television special which ran eight consecutive nights for a total of 12 hours.) It is a 1,000-ton sculpture, a mile-wide mural, an immense and flawed monument which, by dint of its weight and size and scope and content, has become a contemporary masterpiece. Perhaps in its own symbolic way it is as valid as Mt. Rushmore.

Sometimes a man with a pencil (or a brush) discovers a quintessential subject and the mere combination of these two elements results in a very special work of art. No matter the quality. What matters is the time, the place, the social chemistry. Such is the case with Alex Haley, a competent writer inspired by his subject matter, a man descended from a slave, who traced his maternal family from Africa, New York, to Henning, Tennessee, and thence to the slave ship Lord Ligonier, which docked in Annapolis, Maryland, carrying among its cargo of slaves a Mandingo boy named Kunta Kinte who had been kidnapped from the village of Jufure in Gambia, West Africa, in 1757.

Possessed by an obsession to find his roots over a period of 12 years and through three continents, Mr. Haley traced his family history to Kunta in what has already become a classic search for identity. It is a search which now is echoing its implications among the country's black population, stirring whole generations of people who have found it difficult to accept Southern roots into a prideful recognition of their African roots.

No. 1 on the best seller lists today, the novel-turned nonfiction book was purchased for television long before its publication date. It was already in production as a television miniseries months before the first reviews appeared, confirming what ABC entertainment president Fred Silverman already knew — "Roots" is not only pop genealogy and pop culture.



Alex Haley, author of 'Roots'

ture, it is pop mass-media entertainment, worthy of being an "ABC novel for television."

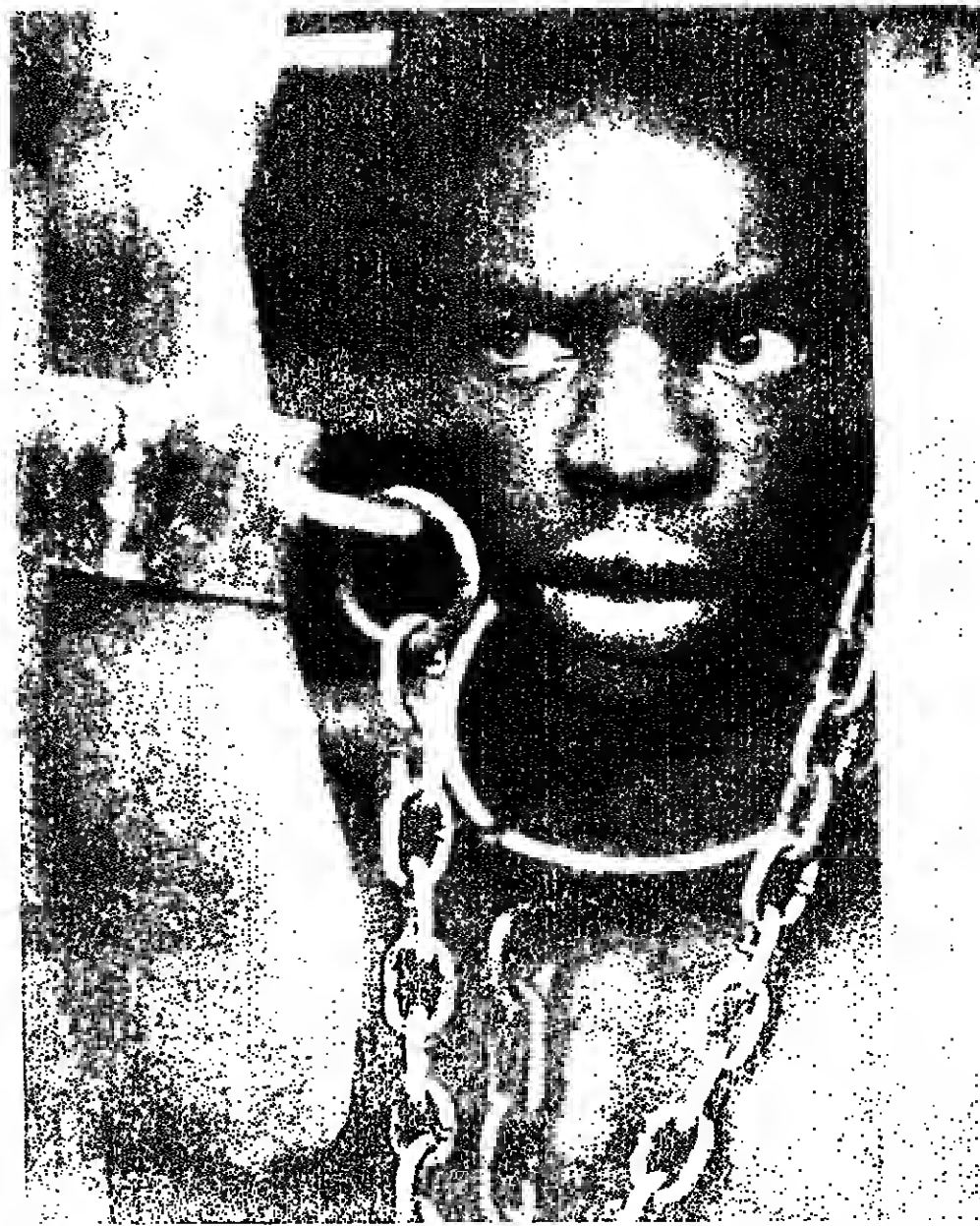
I must report that it is marvelous, terrible, cliché-ridden, subtly written, overacted, underacted, well-directed, badly directed, fascinating, boring but, in the end, stirringly worthwhile.

Written by a gaggle of writers, directed by a gaggle of directors, acted by a gaggle of actors, "Roots" comes through as a gaggle of faintly familiar stories waddling through recent literary history, tethered by Mr. Haley on one end and Kunta Kinte on the other. It is a marvelously varied mixture of, say, "Sounder" and "Mandingo," with a touch of "Birth of a Nation" and "Porgy and Bess" thrown in. Depending upon who was writing, directing, and acting, various segments may cause you to giggle or cry with just about every other emotion in between. In the premiere hours (perhaps the worst), for instance, the action takes place in an antiseptic Disneyland of an African village, devoid of litter, but full of charming gazebos occupied by non-sweating natives dressed in ivory snow-white blouses. Female stars are covered above the waist; extras, for some reason, unweaved. And it is disconcerting to hear the natives converse in a mélange of accents ranging from West Indian to Shakespearean, with the occasionally familiar sound of Southern black dialect. But soon, the viewer is immersed in the day-to-day life of the village, only now and then distracted by the cliché Quincy Jones background drum-music and the earnest appearances of such as O. J. Simpson who interrupts the action in a scene that allows him to run and hock. Everything is carefully spelled out, a bit like juvenile fiction about life in an African village. "My boy has just left," says mother Cleely Tyson when Kunta goes off to the circumcisions rites, "a man will return." It's that kind of show.

But soon the black slave-catchers arrive, communicated by white masters whose major aim is to save the natives from cannibalism, convert them to Christianity, and, oh yes, make a tidy profit from their sale. How does a native boy know a white man is approaching? "White man has scent like wet chicken" explains a wise man. The scenes of slave-trapping, imprisonment in cages on the beach, and transfer to the ship where they are "chained in the white man's canoe house" are heartbreakingly vivid, filled with agonizing shrieks and tears of despair. One learns that the ship can carry 170 slaves in a "loose pack" or 200 in a "tight pack" lying on their sides for the whole voyage, brought on deck only occasionally to be hosed down.

In the midst of this degradation, the tribe's warrior, a wrestler who previously had explained that the purpose of war is not to kill but to win, changes his mind and harangues Kunta to "be strong to kill the white man. Men chained together are brothers," he says. "We will be one village . . . we will destroy our enemy . . . we will kill . . . we will live."

"Roots," in subsequent episodes, encompasses a slava mutiny which fails, oustings of Africans in America, the relationships between slaves and masters as well as slaves and their black brethren already in captivity ("Things get better — stop being African and start being a nigger like the rest of us"), escape attempts, love, marriage, miscegenation, separation of families, new generations, slave rebellions, Civil War, emancipation, Ku Klux Klan, and, finally, a free new life in Tennessee at which



LeVar Burton as Kinte — great, great, great, great, great grandfather of Haley

point author Haley emerges from the fictionalization and establishes the truth and authenticity of his project with photo-album pictures.

Meantime, we have gone through such writers as William Blinn, Ernest Kinoy, James Lee, and Charles Cohen, such directors as David Greene, John Ermon, Gilbert Moses, and Marvin Chousky; such actors as Cleely Tyson, Edward Asner, Lorne Greene, John Amos, Louis Gossett, Moses Gunn, Ben Vereen, Leslie Uggams, Sandy Duncan, Burl Ives, and hundreds of others. Outstanding are a new young actor, LeVar Burton, who portrays Kunta Kinte as a boy, and Ben Vereen, who plays an incredible character named Chicken George with amazing credibility.

"Roots" overflows with just about everything you ever wanted to know about slavery, race relations, human beings. It reaches high and inevitably falls a great deal of the time. Especially when it so often insists upon spelling things out specifically. A young black child is cautioned, "If you start hurling whites for being white, you won't be any better than those white men who hurt your daddy. Hate them for what they done, but not for the color of their skin." When a husband returns from exile, his wife throws out her arms and sighs: "My man!" People keep telling each other to "tush."

Yet, somehow the series manages to overcome all of that and what, in the end, Chicken George carries on the storytelling tradition by retelling the tale of Kunta Kinte to a new generation, passing on the dream with the final words: "The flesh of you flesh has come to

freedom. You is free. We is free!" the chances are you will be moved as series "TV seldom moves you."

"Roots" is a David L. Wolper Production, filmed mostly on location in Georgia — but it might as well have been Disneyland in many instances. Often I had the feeling that a few handfuls of African soil smeared realistically on costumes, props, and faces would have added immeasurably to a feeling of reality. Slave quarters and Southern mansions seem to be cardboard cutouts right out of "Song of the South."

To some degree, "Roots" suffers by comparison with a BBC/TIME-Life series, "The Fight Against Slavery" which has been airing in syndication in many American markets during the past few months. Written by Evan Jones, it covers the early days of slavery as seen from the British viewpoint, sans the Disneyesque quality of some parts of "Roots." What "Fight Against Slavery" lacks in melodrama, it makes up for in understated authenticity. It, too, uses a broad canvas — but with typical BBC restraint. However, the flamboyance and pop-culture flair of "Roots" is lacking — so, chances are, it will appeal only to those seriously interested in the non-personalized history of the period, with all the grit and grime showing.

"Roots" swings from the crude explicitness of "Mandingo" to the sweet subtlety of "Sounder" — often flirts, sometimes sparsely effective, but always a bit frantic in its determination to integrate vaudville turns with in-depth characterization.

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Une guerre en Europe orientale...?

Cette possibilité semble très improbable
mais les stratèges surveillent les remous

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 30]

par Victor Zorza
Ecrit spécialement pour
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

La possibilité qu'une guerre puisse surgir d'une manière quelconque des remous de l'Europe orientale peut sembler improbable à présent, mais quelques-uns des stratèges les plus compétents de la politique étrangère des États-Unis se sont penchés sérieusement sur cette question.

Le sursaut actuel d'opposition à certains régimes communistes de l'Europe orientale ne semble pas à première vue porter en soi le potentiel d'une crise majeure. Mais les crises majeures sont la conséquence de crises de moindre importance et il y en a trois en cours à l'heure actuelle, une dans chacun des pays suivants : la Tchécoslovaquie, la Pologne et l'Allemagne de l'Est.

La doctrine Sonnenfeldt, ainsi qu'elle a été exposée par l'émisaire de l'ancien secrétaire d'État Henry Kissinger l'an dernier, était issue de la crainte que les relations anormales actuelles entre les pays d'Europe orientale et l'Union soviétique présentaient un danger bien plus grand pour la paix du monde que le conflit entre l'Est et l'Ouest parce qu'elles pourraient, tôt ou tard, éclater, provoquant une troisième guerre mondiale.

En raison de son caractère délicat, la

question n'est pas discutée publiquement en général par des porte-parole officiels.

C'est au cours de l'étude de l'Institut Brookings, visant à établir les priorités nationales, que quelques-uns des gens de Carter en sont venus à discuter de la question publiquement au cours de la campagne électorale. D'après cette étude, il était difficile de voir éclater un conflit majeur en Europe occidentale si ce n'est par contagion de l'Europe orientale avec son potentiel considérable d'agitation.

Cette étude rappelait que les pressions nationalistes de l'Europe orientale avaient renversé deux empires au cours de ce siècle : l'empire ottoman et l'Autriche-Hongrie, provoquant de grandes guerres. Le conflit entre la domination soviétique et le nationalisme de l'Europe orientale s'est conduit trois fois à l'emploi massif de forces armées depuis la seconde guerre mondiale — à Berlin en 1953, à Budapest en 1956 et à Prague en 1968.

Il ne serait pas réaliste de supposer, conclut l'étude, que de tels conflits ne se reproduiront jamais.

Jusqu'à quel point la pensée de Jimmy Carter se rapproche-t-elle des conclusions de l'étude Brookings ? La situation en Europe orientale, dit l'étude, restera potentiellement instable jusqu'à ce que les leaders soviétiques

concilient davantage l'autonomisme et le pluralisme de l'Europe orientale. L'Europe orientale, dit Jimmy Carter, ne peut jamais être une région stable, tant que ces pays n'auront pas reconstruit leur indépendance. C'était là les paroles retentissantes d'un candidat recherchant des voix — mais le fond de la pensée était le même. M. Carter dit qu'il ne préconisait pas un retour à la guerre froide, mais qu'il insisterait pour que l'Union soviétique respecte les accords d'Helsinki au sujet de la liberté de mouvement et d'information.

Les discours électoraux de M. Carter ont été entendus non seulement par les électeurs ethniques de Chicago et de Cleveland, mais aussi par leurs proches d'Europe orientale. Les États-Unis, a dit le candidat à la présidence, devraient faire tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour encourager la liberté dans les pays actuellement dominés de l'Europe orientale. Y a-t-il une relation de cause à effet entre sa victoire électorale et la preuve croissante provenant de l'Europe orientale indiquant que les citoyens sont de plus en plus déterminés à exiger leurs droits conformément aux accords d'Helsinki ?

Il est peu probable que la police secrète des pays de l'Europe orientale mette à notre disposition ses études sur l'opinion publique, mais d'après quelques signes relevés dans la presse of-

ficielle, c'est vraiment ce dont les leaders communistes ont peur. Les exemples récents d'agitations provenant de Tchécoslovaquie, d'Allemagne de l'Est et de Pologne montrent dans chaque cas un rapport avec Helsinki.

Il serait faux de suggérer que tout cela est le fait de M. Carter. Il y a beaucoup d'autres facteurs tels que l'encouragement que les Européens de l'Est tirent du défi des Euro-communistes envers le Krouchtchev et de l'importance de la conférence de Belgrade qui discutera cet été de la mise en œuvre des accords d'Helsinki.

Néanmoins, la nouvelle administration se doit non seulement vis-à-vis des corps électoraux, mais vis-à-vis des peuples de l'Europe orientale — et dessus tout vis-à-vis d'elle-même — à clarifier au moins dans son esprit ce qu'est sa politique. La guerre de guerre dont M. Sonnenfeldt et les Brookings parlent n'est certainement pas imminente et peut ne jamais prendre corps. Mais les quartiers généraux de toutes les grandes puissances établissent leurs plans pour parce à une guerre éventuelle en Europe sur la supposition que le conflit peut se développer graduellement à partir d'un sursaut de nationalisme et d'un désir ardent de liberté qu'aucun gouvernement ne peut contrôler.

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Ein osteuropäischer Krieg...?

Die Möglichkeit erscheint nur gering, doch
Strategen behalten die Unruhen im Auge

[Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 30 in englischer Sprache.]

Von Victor Zorza
Sonderbericht für den
Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Die Möglichkeit, daß die Unruhen in Osteuropa irgendwie in einen Krieg ausbrechen könnten, erscheint im Augenblick sehr unwahrscheinlich, aber einige der zuverlässigsten außenpolitischen Strategen in den Vereinigten Staaten haben sich ernstlich damit befaßt.

Auf den ersten Blick sieht es nicht so aus als ob die gegenwärtig brodelnde Opposition gegen einige der kommunistischen Regierungen in Osteuropa zu einer größeren Krise führen könnte. Aber größere Krisen entstehen aus kleineren Krisen, und wir haben gegenwärtig drei kleinere — eine in der Tschechoslowakei, eine in Polen und eine in Ostdeutschland.

Die Sonnenfeldt-Doktrin, wie sie im vergangenen Jahr von Außenminister Henry A. Kissinger Stellvertreter dargelegt wurde, beruhte auf der Furcht, daß die gegenwärtigen unnormalen Beziehungen zwischen den osteuropäischen Ländern und der Sowjetunion eine weit größere Gefahr für den Weltfrieden darstellten als der Konflikt zwischen Ost und West, da sie früher oder später explodieren und einen dritten Weltkrieg verursachen könnten.

Weil das eine sehr heikle Frage ist, wird sie im allgemeinen von offiziellen

Wortführern nicht in der Öffentlichkeit erwähnt.

Alles, was die Carter-Leute über diese Angelegenheit während des Wahlkampfes in der Öffentlichkeit zu sagen hatten, war in dem Bericht des Brookings-Instituts enthalten, in dem die Prioritäten des Landes aufgeführt wurden. In diesem Bericht hieß es, daß wohl schwerlich ein Aufflammen eines größeren Konflikts in Westeuropa vorzusagen sei, es sei denn, es würde von Osteuropa mit seinen beträchtlichen Unruhen her angestoßen.

Es wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß in diesem Jahrhundert durch nationalistischen Druck in Osteuropa zwei Regierungen gestürzt wurden — und zwar in der Türkei und in Österreich-Ungarn —, was größere Kriege auslöste. Der Zusammenstoß zwischen der sowjetischen Oberherrschaft und dem osteuropäischen Nationalismus hat seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg dreimal zu beträchtlichen militärischen Eingriffen geführt — 1953 in Berlin, 1956 in Budapest und 1968 in Prag.

Es wäre unrealistisch, anzunehmen, daß solche Zusammenstöße nicht wieder vorkommen würden, heißt es abschließend in dem Bericht.

Inwieweit stimmt nun Jimmy Carters Denken mit den Folgerungen der Brookings-Untersuchungen überein ? In dem Bericht wurde erwähnt, daß die Situation in Osteuropa weiterhin unbeständig bleiben würde, bis die so-

wjetischen Führer sich damit abfinden, daß sie ein größeres Maß an Autonomie und Pluralismus in Osteuropa gelten lassen müssen. Jimmy Carter sagte, diese Länder könne niemals stabil sein, bis diese Länder ihre Unabhängigkeit, zurückgewonnen haben. Dies sind die klingenden Worte eines Kandidaten, der um Stimmen warb — aber der zugrundeliegende Gedanke war derselbe. Carter sagte, er befürworte nicht die Wiederaufnahme des kalten Krieges, aber er würde darauf bestehen, daß die Sowjetunion die in Helsinki gemachten Versprechen über freie Bewegung und Information hält.

Cartera Wahlreden wurden nicht nur von den ethnischen Wählern in Chicago und Cleveland gehört, sondern auch von deren Verwandten in Osteuropa. Die Vereinigten Staaten sollten alles unternehmen, was in ihrer Macht steht, wörtig unterstützten Ländern in Osteuropa die Freiheit zu fördern. Besteht ein Zusammenhang zwischen seinem Wahlsieg und den zunehmenden Anzeichen in Osteuropa, daß die Bevölkerung immer entschlossener die ihr in Helsinki-Abkommen zugestandenen Rechte fordert ?

Die Geheimpolizei der osteuropäischen Länder wird uns wohl kaum ihre Ergebnisse der öffentlichen Meinungsforschung zur Verfügung stellen, aber in der offiziellen Presse sind Anzeichen dafür zu sehen, daß die kommunisti-

sehen Führer gerade das befürchten. Die Berichte über Unruhen in der Tschechoslowakei, Ostdeutschland und Polen lassen in jedem Fall einen Zusammenhang mit Helsinki erkennen.

Es wäre falsch, den Gedanken zuzulegen, daß Carter allein dafür verantwortlich sei. Viele andere Faktoren spielen mit, wie die Ermutigung, die die Osteuropäer darin finden, daß die europäischen Kommunisten den Krieg herausfordern und die Konferenzen in Belgrad bald stattfinden wird, und in diesem Sommer die Durchführung der Vereinbarungen von Helsinki besprochen werden soll.

Trotz allem schuldet die neue Regierung nicht nur der Wählerschaft, sondern auch der Bevölkerung Osteuropas — und vor allem sich selbst —, daß sie sich zumindest in ihrem eigenen Denken klar darüber wird, was für eine Politik sie verfolgen will. Die Gefahr eines Krieges, von der Sonnenfeldt und der Brookings-Bericht sprachen, ist uns gewiß nicht unmittelbar, aber auch nie zur Wirklichkeit geworden. Aber die Generäle aller großen Mächte gründen ihre Pläne auf die eventuellen Krieg in Europa, auf die Vermutung, daß aus einem Aufschwung des Nationalismus und einem Verlangen nach Freiheit, die von keiner Regierung eingedämmt werden könnten, sich langsam die Streitigkeiten entwickeln mögen.

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French/German

L'impulsion religieuse

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
[Eine Übersetzung befindet sich auf der Home Forum Seite]

Qu'est-ce qui fait que l'esprit religieux demeure vivant dans le cœur des gens ? Est-ce l'ignorance quant aux vérités pratiques, comme certains le diraient ? Ou est-ce une impulsion qui va au-delà d'un raisonnement humain juste ou faux ?

Qu'est-ce qui fait que l'humanité prend le temps de suspendre ses activités matériellement productives et ses passe-temps ordinaires pour rendre un culte religieux ? Pourquoi les gens s'occupent-ils de ce qui semble intangible alors que tout autour d'eux la scène humaine semble si réelle ? N'est-ce pas parce qu'ils savent qu'il doit y avoir des vérités fondamentales au-delà de l'évidence des sens matériels ?

La Science Chrétienne répond à cette dernière question par un oui clair et compréhensible. Il existe des conditions essentielles de l'être qui ne sont pas comprises au moyen d'une simple investigation de ce que nous pouvons voir, entendre, ressentir, goûter ou sentir physiquement. La religion offre l'abond le plus simple, le plus clair et le plus facile pour reconnaître leur nature et leur réalité. En dernier ressort, c'est la compréhension spirituelle qui est pleine de sens et profitable à notre bien-être et à notre plénitude; aucune investigation dans

le monde de la matérialité ne peut la remplacer. Jésus l'exprima bien : « C'est l'esprit qui vivifie; la chair ne sert de rien. »

Jésus ne reniait pas la valeur d'une bonne existence humaine. Il disait seulement que ce qui est essentiel au bien dans l'existence humaine n'est pas la chose ou l'événement extérieur (la « chair ») mais l'esprit vivant, la réalité spirituelle et ultime de l'être. C'est la nature de cette réalité spirituelle et ultime qui est le sujet de la religion.

Mary Baker Eddy, qui découvrit et fonda la Science Chrétienne, était un disciple consacré du Maître Chrétien, Christ Jésus. Elle était convalescente, sans aucun doute, que Jésus compréhensif et enseignant la vérité qui supplante à jamais les apparences extérieures, ou la matérialité. Elle acceptait de mettre à l'épreuve ses convictions et sa foi sur la base de la déclaration explicite de Jésus, que quiconque croirait comme il croyait et comprendrait de même ferait les œuvres de guérison et de salut qu'il faisait. Ce n'est pas qu'elle revendiquait d'égaliser ses œuvres — elle reconnaissait la stature suprême du Maître. Mais elle alla et guérit effectivement et

fut à même d'enseigner à ceux qui la suivaient comment aider et guérir d'une façon qui éprouvait et prouvait la vérité des enseignements de Jésus.

Les œuvres suivent la compréhension, aussi que la Science Chrétienne nous le montre, parce que toute l'existence humaine — ses conditions, ses circonstances et son progrès — répond directement à l'état de notre pensée. Si la pensée se repose sur ce qui est effectivement l'être — la réalité spirituelle au-delà des apparences matérielles — alors les circonstances humaines s'améliorent. Si la pensée ne se repose pas sur cette base, alors la détérioration s'ensuit.

La Science Chrétienne, se conformant à l'essence de l'enseignement du Maître, maintient que Dieu est Tout, qu'il n'y a pas d'autre pouvoir ou présence, et que l'homme est son image et sa ressemblance, ici, maintenant et à jamais. C'est là, dit-elle, ce qui est en vérité, ce qui est réel au-delà des apparences. La Science Chrétienne nous rappelle ces vérités. L'esprit religieux, dans toute déclaration chrétienne à son sujet, a tendance, d'une façon idéale, à orienter les gens vers une considération de ces mêmes vérités.

Pourquoi prendre la peine de comprendre les vérités fondamentales qui sont au-delà de la portée des sens physiques ? Répondre à cette question est pour ainsi dire inutile quand nous comprenons que c'est de notre capacité d'être sensibles à ces vérités que dépend le bien évident dans notre vie quotidienne. Le christianisme développe magnifiquement notre capacité d'avoir raison dans un sens absolu, et Mrs. Eddy écrit à ce sujet : « L'attitude du christianisme ouvre, très haut, au-dessus des prétendues lois de la matière, une porte que nul ne peut fermer; elle indique à tous le chemin par lequel échapper au péché, à la maladie et à la mort. »

* Jean 6:63; voir Jean 14:12; Christian Science versus Pantheisme, p. 12.

* Christian Science, prononce « kris-tian » sans son

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, Science et Santé, ou la Vie dans la Vérité, de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec la toute anglaise au regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Francis C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Der religiöse Impuls

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home Forum-Seite erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
[Eine Übersetzung befindet sich auf der Home Forum Seite]

Was erhält den religiösen Geist in den Herzen der Menschen lebendig? Ist es, wie manche Leute sagen würden, eine Unkenntnis praktischer Wahrheiten? Oder ist es ein Impuls, der über richtiges oder falsches menschliches Denken hinausgeht? Was veranlaßt die Menschen, interiorell produktive Tätigkeiten und allgütige Vergnügungen zu unterbrechen und sich die Zeit zu nehmen, eine religiöse Andacht zu halten? Warum gehen sich die Menschen mit scheinbar nicht greifbaren Dingen ab, wo doch das menschliche Geschehen um sie her so wirklich erscheint? Ist es nicht, weil sie wissen, daß es grundlegende Wahrheiten geben muß, die über den Augenschein der materiellen Sinne hinausgehen?

Die Christliche Wissenschaft beantwortet diese letzte Frage mit einem klaren und verständlichen Ja. Es gibt grundlegende Zustände des Seins, die nicht durch

die bloße Erforschung dessen, was wir physisch sehen, hören, fühlen, schmecken oder riechen, verstanden werden können. Die Religion bietet den einfachsten, klarsten und leichtesten Weg, die Natur und Wirklichkeit dieser Zustände zu erkennen. Geistiges Verständnis ist letzten Endes für unser Wohlbefinden und unsere Vollständigkeit von Bedeutung und von Nutzen. Kein Erforschen der materiellen Welt kann an dessen Stelle treten. Jesus drückte es treffend aus: „Der Geist ist's, der da lebendig macht; das Fleisch ist nichts nütze.“

Jesus leugnete nicht den Wert guter menschlicher Erfahrung. Er sagte lediglich, daß das, was für das Gute im menschlichen Leben grundlegend ist, nicht die äußere Sache oder das äußere Ereignis (das „Fleisch“) ist, sondern der lebenspendende Geist, die geistige und endgültige Wirklichkeit des Seins. Die Religion

befähigt sich mit der Natur dieser geistigen und endgültigen Wirklichkeit.

Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft entdeckte und gründete, war eine treue Nachfolgerin des Meisters der Christen, Christus Jesus. Sie war fest davon überzeugt, daß Jesus die Wahrheit verstand und lehrte, die die äußeren Erscheinungsformen oder die Materialität für immer aufhebt. Sie war bereit, ihre Überzeugung und ihren Glauben auf die Probe zu stellen, und zwar auf der Grundlage der anspruchsvollen Erklärung Jesu, daß jeder, der an seine Lehre glaubte und sie verstand, auch die hellenden und erlösenden Werke vollbringen würde, die er vollbrachte. Sie beanspruchte niemals, ihm in seinen Werken gleichzukommen; sie konnte die unübertreffliche Größe des Meisters. Aber sie half und heilte, und sie konnte ihre Nachfolger lehren, auf eine Weise zu helfen und zu heilen, die die

Wahrheit der Lehren Jesu auf die Probe stellte und bewies.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft zeigt uns, daß die Werke des Meisters folgen, weil das ganze menschliche Leben — seine Bedingungen, Umstände und sein Fortschritt — direkt auf den Zustand unseres Denkens reagiert. Wenn das Denken auf der Tatsächlichkeit des Seins beruht — der geistigen Wirklichkeit jenseits aller materiellen Erscheinungsformen —, dann tritt eine Besserung in den menschlichen Umständen ein. Wenn das Denken nicht auf der Tatsächlichkeit des Seins beruht, dann ist Verfall das Ergebnis.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft, die dem Geist der Lehren des Meisters folgt, erklärt, daß Gott Alles ist, daß es keine andere Macht oder Gegenwart gibt und daß der Mensch hier, jetzt und immer Sein Bild und Gleichnis ist. Dies, so sagt sie, ist das Wirkliche, das die Erscheinungsformen übersteigt. Die Christliche Wissenschaft erinnert uns an diese Wahrheiten. Im Idealfall neigt der religiöse Geist, in welcher Form er sich christlich zum Ausdruck gebracht werden mag, dazu, die Menschen anzuregen, über ebendiese Wahrheiten nachzudenken.

Warum bemühen wir uns, die grundlegenden Wahrheiten, die von den physischen Sinnen nicht wahrgenommen werden können, zu verstehen? Die Frage bedarf kaum einer Antwort; wenn wir verstehen, daß das Gute im täglichen Leben von unserer Fähigkeit abhängt, auf diese Wahrheiten positiv zu reagieren. Das Christentum erweitert auf herrliche Weise unsere Fähigkeit, im höchsten Sinne rechtschaffen zu sein, und Mrs. Eddy schreibt in bezug darauf: „Hoch über den sogenannten Gesetzen der Materie öffnet die Erhabenheit des Christentums eine Tür, die niemand ausschließen kann; sie zeigt allen Völkern den Weg, wie man der Sünde, der Krankheit und dem Tod entronnen kann.“

* Johannes 6:63; siehe Johannes 14:12; Christian Science versus Pantheismus, S. 12.

* Christian Science, spricht « kris-tian » aus

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite verbunden. Das Buch kann in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Francis C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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Playground with a view

The space of wonder

"The man who cannot wonder, who does not habitually wonder and worship, is but a pair of spectacles behind which there is no eye." So observed the English philosopher, Thomas Carlyle.

Carlyle's remark cogently touches upon the one feature which, though given abundantly in childhood, is earned with effort in adulthood — the consistent and unconscious ability to wonder. At both stages, wonder is no less than the necessity of discovering what one has already been given: the miraculous. Like faith, it simplifies the complexity of what we see around us by pronouncing its unifying commonality.

For a child, wonder is a palpable experience. It is the smell of red, bees the sound of mellow, snow the movement of silence. For the child born into a world rich with correspondences, wonder naturally links the glimmering wing of a summer dragonfly with the whisper of fresh evergreen, the sound of an apple outside falling in the middle of night with the feel of cool, starched cotton the next morning upon waking. Above all, it reveals the transparent silliness which unifies them all.

Wonder, then, becomes the passport which enables a child to enter without fear into the foreign territories of his future experiences. For wonder is no less than the child himself; he who has not, as yet, learned to be different from the world he perceives about him.

As he grows older, though, the risk of diminishing that sense of wonder, that oneness, runs high as his world, once intuitive and wordless, becomes explained for him. Soon, he learns to name, and, hence, to divide. With language and later with action, he compartmentalizes his world, and with this control, the world ceases to surprise him. His world once genderless and without category becomes, with the passing of time, a world created by division, a world where he defines himself largely by defining others.

A child's sense of wonder, which originally exists out of a deep and genuine acknowledgment of the cohesive nature of things, becomes fragmented. And in his attempt to structure these perceptions, he externalizes them. For the child, the wipe of a dish, then, is no longer a simile for sound and motion, but a statement about the hand itself: its gender, its class, its color.

By defining his space and the things within it, he has defined the limits of his wonder. Later, his inability to find wonder consistently is simply the habit of believing that wonder can only be found and felt in certain places and in certain ways.

Our response when the external world presses upon us, when people and events seem inexplicably unrelated to, "I need more space, give me more space." In dividing the world into external and internal halves, the thread of wonder is lost. In search for the space of the wonder we have lost, we cry out for a literal space in which to rediscover it.

Often I have the sense that these desperate cries for more space are, as in a Stein-



A universe discovered: Photograph by Gordon N. Converse

berg cartoon, emitted by a solitary figure stationed on a horizontal plateau. He cries for the precise things he does not need: more space. And, ironically, he fails to understand that what he needs is merely the inner stillness with which to explore the space he already has. It is this quality of inner stillness, without which wonder cannot sustain itself, which, ultimately, enables him, in Blake's words, "to see the world in a grain of sand."

Childhood, when we reflect back upon our own, or as we watch our own children explore theirs, demonstrates, I think, how little space we need in order to wonder. For childhood is in itself an elaborate exercise in spaces.

Whether ensconced in his room, wedged

between bookcase and bed, or curled up in a tight ball in a wheat field, a child's generous sense of wonder perpetuates itself precisely because he doesn't define his space. He is his space. The only limit which exists for him is his inability to wonder what exists beyond it. Hence, a child's conscious exploration of the angles of his room, its crookings and corners, is merely an unconscious experimentation with the new angles of his own perceptions.

This perpetual ability to wonder, to perceive beyond the fiction of form, links man with child. It is his freedom from the space of his own preconceptions. Certainly, this childlike ability to see beyond form is the root of all great art as it necessitates locating the stillness of an object's essence.

Alexandra Johnson

Why didn't you warn me, Miss Austen?

It isn't every man who can truthfully say (and James Bond, remember, is extremely fictional) that at breakfast this morning he was more or less prevented from engaging in a successful nutritional dialogue with his Westabix by the affectional attentions and loving embraces of a pretty little blonde girl. . . .

Yet such was my lot. Furthermore, no sooner had I managed a certain degree of disentanglement and thereby felt able to attempt a mouthful of boiled eggs, than the said young lady, punctuating her words with a long that was almost a throttle, whispered with a stage-voice intensity:

"I'm going to marry you."

I admit to being a trifle surprised at the announcement. "Are you?" I said with unintentional quickness, lowering my spoon.

"YES!" — the capitalization being accompanied by an eye-to-eye gaze of the most devoted rapturousness.

"So am I," said another voice, just behind me.

At this point I feel that readers may agree with me that my day had in fact started somewhat surprisingly. I had to have a moment or two to consider these unpredictable events. . . . A proposal of marriage before finishing one's egg is one thing, but two proposals! — and I still hadn't taken a single bite of toast.

After all, such things are slightly upsetting; to someone who, like myself, has been reared on the Victorian novelists; who believes that proposals of marriage are private, not public, pronouncements; that they are made invariably by the man; that the party proposed to has some choice in the matter; that they are best when they culminate a lengthy period of growing intimacy; that they are generally made after breakfast; and — for the most part — only one at a time. I am fully aware that my sensibilities are therefore easy to cast in a backward mould of "ehauvinism," but I have nevertheless dared to describe them in order to make it evident how strangely shaken they were.

"But I'm already married," I said.

In Austen, or Elphinstone, or Hardy, these words would have been uttered in a tremulous undertone, and their effect would have been electrifying. They would probably have ended Book I, and the hero or heroine at their receiving-end would consequently have spent the whole of Book II indulging a declining and vaporous introspection.

In real life, however, there is neither decline nor fall.

Instead, this morning's imperturbable heroine said lightly: "Oh, bother!" And then, after the shortest of pauses: "Well, I'm going to marry you again!"

"So am I," echoed the voice behind me. Which only goes to show that to cope with up-to-date exigencies one simply has to develop up-to-date sensibilities.

"Come along now, Jessica," said her mother suddenly, "leave Christopher alone and finish your Rice Krispies. We'll have to go in two minutes, and you haven't brushed your teeth yet."

"I want to marry him first," said The Miss, pointingly, and, clinging to my neck, gave me another long look coupled with a smile of such six-year-old-temporary-toothlessness that I couldn't help reflecting that brushing them was perhaps little more than a formality, or a maternal device for getting their would-be owner nearer the front door of the flat, and therefore nearer her infant school.

Finally my hostess had whisked the children away, and I was able to reflect in a more leisurely manner on the lessons of this startling episode. Its *denouement* was something that the Victorian novelists scarcely touched on. I couldn't help feeling that Miss Austen had been a little remiss in not observing that if one happens to be proposed to at breakfast in a compromising, not to say compelling, manner, then the occurrence may be effectively terminated by an imperative reference to the immediate necessity of employing a toothbrush.

It works better than a charm.

Christopher Andreae



The question: Photograph by Jonathan Hersch

The Monitor's religious article

The religious impulse

What is it that keeps the religious spirit alive in people's hearts? Is it ignorance of practical truths, as some would say? Or is it an impulse that goes beyond right or wrong human reasoning? What is it that causes mankind to take time out from materially productive activities and ordinary pleasures to worship in a religious manner? Why do people bother with what must seem intangibles when the human scene around them seems so real? Isn't it because they know there have to be basic truths beyond the evidence of the material senses?

Christian Science answers the last question with a clear and understandable yes. There are fundamental conditions of being that are not understandable through the mere investigation of what we can see, hear, feel, taste, or smell physically. Religion offers the simplest, clearest, and easiest approach to the recognition of their nature and reality. It is spiritual understanding that is ultimately meaningful, ultimately profitable to our well-being and wholeness; no investigation into the world of materiality can substitute for it. Jesus put it well: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing."

Jesus was not denying the value of good human experience. He was saying only that what is fundamental to good in human experience is not the outward thing or event (the "flesh") but the quickening spirit, the spiritual and ultimate reality of being. It is the nature of this spiritual and ultimate reality that is the subject of religion.

Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, was a dedicated follower of the master Christian, Christ Jesus. She was convinced beyond question that Jesus understood and taught the truth that forever supersedes outward appearances, or materiality. She was willing to test her convictions and faith on the basis of his exacting statement to the effect that anyone who believed in his way and understood his way would do the healing and saving works he did. Not that she ever claimed to be able to equal his works — she knew the superlative stature of the Master. But she did help and heal, and she was able to teach her followers to help and heal in a manner that tested and proved the truth of Jesus' teachings.

The works follow the understanding. Christian Science shows us, because the whole of human experience — its conditions, circumstances, and progress — directly responds to the state of our thought. If thought is based on the actuality of being — the spiritual reality beyond material appearances — then there is improvement in human circumstances. If it is not so based, then there is deterioration.

Christian Science, following the essence of the Master's teaching, maintains that God is All, that there is no other power nor presence, and that man is His image and likeness here, now, and always. This, it says, is what is actual, what is real beyond appearances. Christian Science reminds us of these truths. The religious spirit, in any Christian state-

ment of it, ideally tends to turn people toward a consideration of the same truths.

Why bother to understand fundamental truths that are beyond the reach of the physical senses? The question hardly requires an answer when we understand that it is on our ability to respond well to them that the good of our daily lives depends. Christlike magnificently expands our ability to be right in the ultimate sense, and Mrs. Eddy writes of it: "The attitude of Christianity openeth, high above the so-called laws of matter, a door that no man can shut; it showeth to all peoples the way of escape from sin, disease, and death."

John 6:63; *see John 14:12; *Christian Science versus Pantheism, p. 12.

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BIBLE VERSE

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Psalms 32:8

OPINION AND...

An East European war ... ?

By Victor Zorza
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The possibility that a war might in some way erupt out of the troubles in Eastern Europe may seem remote now, but some of the most responsible foreign policy strategists in the United States have given serious thought to it.

The present upsurge of opposition to some of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe does not at first sight have the makings of a major crisis. But major crises develop out of smaller ones, and there are three small ones in progress now — one each in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and East Germany.

The Sonnenfeldt doctrine, as propounded by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's deputy last year, stemmed from the fear that the present unnatural relationship between the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was a far greater danger to world peace than the conflict between East and West because it could sooner or later explode causing World War III.

Because of its delicacy, the issue is not usually discussed publicly by official spokesmen.

The nearest that any of the Carter people came to discussing the matter publicly during the election campaign was in the Brookings Institution's study setting national priorities. It was hard to see an explosion of major conflict in Western

Europe, the study said, except by contagion from Eastern Europe with its considerable potential for upheaval.

Nationalist pressures in Eastern Europe, it recalled, had overthrown two empires in this century — Turkey and Austria-Hungary — triggering major wars. The clash between Soviet dominance and East European nationalism had led to substantial use of armed force three times since World War II — in Berlin in 1953, in Budapest in 1956, and Prague in 1968.

It would be unrealistic to assume, the study concludes, that such clashes will never recur.

Just how close is Jimmy Carter's thinking to the conclusions of the Brookings study? The situation in Eastern Europe, the study said, would remain potentially unstable, until Soviet leaders reconciled themselves to a greater degree of Eastern European autonomy and pluralism. East Europe, said Jimmy Carter, can never be a stable region, until these countries regain their independence. Here were the ringing tones of a candidate seeking votes — but the basic thought was the same. He was not advocating a return to the cold war, Mr. Carter said, but he would insist that the Soviet Union should honor the Helsinki pledges about freedom of movement and information.

Mr. Carter's election speeches were heard not only by the ethnic voters of Chicago and Cleveland, but also by their kinsfolk in Eastern Europe. The United States, said the presidential candidate, ought to do everything it can to encourage freedom in the presently dominated countries of Eastern Europe. Is there a cause-and-effect relationship between his election

and the mounting evidence from Eastern Europe that its citizens are more strongly determined to demand their rights under the Helsinki accord?

The secret police of the East European countries are likely to make its studies of public opinion available to us. There is some evidence in the official press that this is the case. The Communist leaders were afraid of the reports of unrest from Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Poland after every case a connection with Helsinki.

It would be wrong to suggest that it is all Mr. Carter doing. There are many other factors, such as the engagement which the East Europeans derive from the East Communist challenge to the Kremlin and from the implementation of the Helsinki accords.

Nonetheless, the new administration owes it not only to elaborate but also to the people of Eastern Europe — and always all in itself — to clarify at least its own initial policy. The threat of war of which Mr. Sonnenfeldt's Brookings study spoke is certainly not imminent, and never materialized. But the general status of all the countries have their contingencies, plus for a year in Europe ones suspicion that the fighting may gradually develop from a surge of nationalism and a craving for freedom which government could control.

1977 Victor Zorza

Is torture a matter of situation ethics?

Melvin Maddocks

If 19th-century humanitarians in, say, 1877 had been asked their minimum expectations of 1977, they might well have answered: the abolition of slavery, of capital punishment, and of torture.

Was this hoping for too much from another 100 years of civilization?

Apparently yes. Slavery has come the closest to being abolished. But capital punishment seems to be back in business — and a profoundly sad business it is, even for those who may believe it to be necessary. As for torture, Amnesty International in a 1975 report found evidence of this systematic degradation of human life in 60 countries — from the Far East to Latin America, from Africa to Northern Ireland. Torture is more "widespread," more "intense" in the mid-'70s, according to the report, than it was 15 years ago.

Slavery and torture have tended to go together; both are subhuman treatment of human beings regarded, at least for the moment, as subhuman. The ancient Greeks, in fact, tortured only slaves. But while nobody can be found in 1977 to defend slavery, there are apologists for torture. The January issue of Skeptic magazine, while chronicling the growing popularity of torture and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark's distress over this, also includes an essay by the former speechwriter for President Nixon, Patrick J. Buchanan, titled: "The Right Time for Torture."

Mr. Buchanan, it would seem, is the kind of adamant thinker who would stand up at a convention to ban patriots and say: "But what if your father was Hitler?"

He sees all kinds of special circumstances when torture might be justified. If kidnappers held your child, and you held a kidnapper and the only way to save your child was to extract from this decadent, sadistic, and very stubborn kidnapper the information as to your child's whereabouts... Well?

In the sense of the film which dealt with such a case, Mr. Buchanan is a "Dirty Harry," not and ashamed of it. To him, the liberals with their bleeding hearts are innocents in a privileged world. They don't know what people can be like — psychos, terrorists, the unspeakably depraved and the beyond-appeal fanatics. You don't say with sweet reason to these creatures, "Sir, if you please..."

In short, it's a jungle out there, and in order for good — you and me — to survive, we must be tough. "Killing is not intrinsically evil," concludes tough Mr. Buchanan, and torture is less "intrinsically evil" than killing, so what's the problem? Mr. Buchanan uses the word "moral" again and again, and clearly he believes that torture is not only "morally justifiable" but more moral, under certain circumstances, than not torturing.

Situation ethics as applied to the rack.

From the Implication to Auschwitz, the lesson would seem to be depressingly evident: A lot of people will accept the practice if and the theory of torture — and even collaborate — if their "authority figures" assure them that this torture is "justified."

But do we have to be either torturers or victims — the wolf or the lamb?

The same month that Skeptic devotes itself to the subject of torture a new biography of Simone Weil has appeared: "Simone Weil: A Life" by Simone Pérenès (Pantheon, \$15). Of all the modern secular saints, including George Orwell, nobody abhorred the use of force — all uses of force — like this passionately held Frenchwoman, in part, an ascetic, who so hated violence toward others and was so hard, so violent on herself.

In one of her most deeply felt essays, "Mad: A Poem of Force," writing about Hitler's war with World War II all about her, she spoke of the "intensity" that "springs from the sublimations of the human spirit to force." Hardly a "Utopian" idealist there — to borrow a pejorative Buchanan adjective — she understood that the central and inevitable temptation to use force (and, of course, not just physical force) is what makes men less than human. Her conclusion may be the final word on more than torture: "Only he who has measured the dominion of force, and knows how not to respect it, is capable of love and justice."

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Britain's city planning: bring back the corner shop

London
The brave new world of Britain's post-war town planners has turned out to be a concrete desert. Some four million people are obliged to live in poverty-stricken inner city ghettos — ghettos determined not by race, but by poverty itself.

That's the conclusion of a set of official reports prepared for the Department of the Environment, and based on four-year studies of blighted areas in London, Birmingham and Liverpool. It is backed up by a further (unofficial) report issued by the conservation pressure group known as SAVE, composed of architects, journalists and planners. This concentrated on different areas in London, Liverpool and Portsmouth, which it found equally blighted.

Inspired, perhaps, by the demolition job done so well by Hitler's bombers, Britain's post-war planners confidently asserted that the best way to deal with bad housing was to knock it all down and rebuild from scratch, wholesale. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 gave the authorities the power to redevelop areas as a whole, designating them for housing, another for industry, a third for shops and offices, instead of the old haphazard mixture of all three.

Part of the object was to increase the rateable or taxable value of the inner cities. Better-class property, it was argued, would attract better occupants, higher rents, more revenue for the local authority as well as the property-owner. Bucks were mutually scratched.

The zoning of areas for various purposes was rigidly applied. Shops were removed from their old convenient corner-sites, and High Street supermarkets took their place. Small workshops and factories were exiled to the suburbs. Downtown docks were removed downstream to the estuaries or special terminals. Many of the family dwellings went to the new towns or suburbs, or were replaced by soul-destroying tower blocks, where it was impossible to play on the front doorstep or gossip over the garden wall. The old alums went, new ones took their places — problems of crime and vandalism got worse instead of better. Only the motorist, provided with ring roads and flyovers galore, could believe the last state was better than the first.

Not least, the national economy seems to have suffered from the "sleight-of-hand" approach to city planning. A very considerable part of the excessive public spending which has brought Britain close to bankruptcy can be attributed to such public works as these. New housing alone has been devouring more than \$1,500-million a year. Yet more and more

planners are being converted to the view that it is cheaper, better-looking and socially healthier to rehabilitate old houses — even the supposedly evil slum terraces, which with a face-lift outside and a brand new interior have already become chic homes for the trendy middle classes. Good enough for the workers now?

The SAVE group found that in Liverpool, out of 45,000 houses which had been due for demolition in the next phase of development, all but 10,000 had been rescheduled for renovation.

The trickle of trends to London areas like Islington hasn't, however, reversed the downward plunge of the inner city population. The people have been pulling out, when they could afford to, but often the jobs have pulled out before them. According to the Environment Department study, unemployment in parts of Liverpool has risen to more than 30 percent, and in Birmingham to more than 20 percent.

In Birmingham, of 1,500 companies displaced by one phase of "redevelopment," almost a third had to go out of business. The number of shops was similarly reduced.

In Liverpool, four-fifths of the jobs in "redeveloped" areas never returned, while the estimate of manufacturing jobs lost in London to planning strategy has been put at half-a-million since 1966.

Clearly such large-scale phenomena have more than one cause. Among the causes appear to be the "brave new world" philosophy itself, the failure to think out changing industrial and economic conditions, and a far bigger one — the wealthy property interests that the city councilors would care to admit.

But even these calculations have gone wrong: Inner city sites which could be greatly valued at tens of thousands of pounds are often going begging for buyers now. And the inner city dwellers to lose confidence in the planners' democracy. Polls for council elections are not infrequently less than 20 percent.

What to do? For a start, switch off the inner city areas and well-to-do parts, and let the inner city areas with the kind of housing that people need for living, not just for profit. Then relax rigid planning barriers: let the small workshops, the corner stores, the wrong shape and colour. And let the inner city people, with low incomes, have their own modest homes in the inner city. Stop, even, trying to drive off the inner city London. If they do, there'll be a lot of all in the streets, except the foreign chitching, their plastic carrier bags, and British wildflowers.

COMMENTARY

Richard L. Strout

To Russia — with anxiety

Washington
Secretary of State Cyrus Vance leaves, probably, in March for Moscow in a new attempt to arrest the spiraling arms race. We took to President Carter to get a sense of the Washington mood in the issue that has dominated much of American life for a third of a century.

The rift with Russia did not appear until the end of World War II. The two nations were allies. The atomic bomb was in preparation at the time of Mr. Roosevelt's fourth inaugural in January, 1945, but few knew it. The President said, "We Americans today, together with our allies, are passing through a supreme test." He promised to work for a "just and honorable peace." That was all.

Then, suddenly, the previous allies split apart. Harry Truman in his inaugural of 1949 denounced the new creed: "That false philosophy," he warned Americans, "is communism." It is hard to find anything in any presidential inaugural before that equals the dissonance and shouting that Mr. Truman displayed.

The inaugural speeches, of course, are clump-

ters of history at four-year intervals. Dwight Eisenhower in 1953 followed the tone of Mr. Truman. He described what he called the faith of America and continued.

"The enemies of this faith know no God but force, no devotion but its use. They tutor men in treason. They feed upon the hunger of others. . . . This conflict strikes directly at the faith of our fathers and the lives of our sons. . . . Freedom is pitted against slavery, lightness against the dark."

This is extraordinary language for the incoming head of a nation to use against another and reflects the mood of the time. For the first time the United States felt physically endangered. "The nuclear race began," Mr. Eisenhower's second inaugural in 1953 was almost as fierce. Of Russia he said, "The dangers of that power, dark in purpose, are clear in practice." Russia seeks "to exploit for its own greater power all the forces of change in the world, especially the needs of the hungry and the hopes of the oppressed."

Was it possible to work out some kind of modus vivendi? Two short years after the second inaugural Nikita Khrushchev, in 1959, was making his astonishing trip across the United States. He was seeing the capitalist rival at first hand — and showing occasional signs of liking it. It was planned that Mr. Eisenhower should return the visit. But then Russia knocked the American U-2 spy plane of Francis Gary Powers out of the sky. Mr. Eisenhower declined to apologize or make diplomatic pretense that he had known nothing about it.

In the 1960 campaign John F. Kennedy said he would have expressed regret to Russia over the U-2 incident and Richard Nixon attacked him for his softness. But the tone toward the Soviets changed. Mr. Kennedy in 1961 said, "We shall pay any price, to support liberty, but this was vague, though eloquent. He also said, "Let us never fear to negotiate."

Lyndon Johnson in 1965 noted that "even now, a rocket moves toward Mars." Of Russia he said, "There is world enough for all to seek

their happiness in their own way." That was less belligerent.

Mr. Nixon's two inaugurals were moderate. In the first in 1969 he noted, "Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve." (Always technology rushed forward while politicians hesitated.) He included the comment, "After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation." He visited Russia in 1972 — the visit he didn't make.

In his second inaugural address, 1973, he said, "We stand on the threshold of a new era of peace in the world." The nation impatiently hoped so.

So now, today — earlier fear of imminent peril has turned into a duller but continuing anxiety: the nuclear arms rivalry. Mr. Vance goes to Moscow, apparently to revive the SALT talks. Read what you can into this statement of Jimmy Carter to the nation last week: "We will move this year a step toward our ultimate goal — the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this earth."

Latin military tire of ruling

By James Nelson Goodsett

1977 could become the critical year for many Latin American military governments.

The military came to power in half a dozen countries during the past decade with promises of sweeping reforms and changes.

But somewhere along the way, they began to fire of the responsibilities of government. Frustrations, disappointments, turmoil, and disagreements have soured the whole experience. Now a number of the hemisphere's military leaders are cautiously eyeing a return of government to civilian hands.

It will not come overnight and probably will be gradual when it does come. Perhaps it will not even be complete. And there are plenty of snags along the path toward civilian rule.

Yet a return to constitutional government is in the air particularly in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia.

The signs are many:

• Peru, ruled by the military since October, 1968, Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez raises the possibility of presidential elections within three or four years.

• In Ecuador, where the military came to power in February, 1972, the three-man ruling junta insists that it will relinquish power in February, 1978.

• And in Bolivia, which has had a succession of military rulers since November, 1964, Gen. Hugo Banzer Suárez two weeks ago promised "an early return" to normal political and trade union activities as part of a plan to strengthen the nation.

• Even in Chile, where a heavy-handed military government has been in office since 1973, a minor saying some of the military are tiring of their governing role persists.

• Across the Andes in Brazil, South America's biggest country with military rule since 1964, this keeps cropping up that the next president may be civilian. It will be up to Gen. Ernesto Geisel to choose his successor when his term ends next year. He has talked frequently of "more democracy" for Brazil.

Only in Argentina and Uruguay, where the

military took over last year, is there little talk about going back to civilian rule.

In Honduras, Paraguay, where the bottom of elections takes place each four years, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner is expected to remain in office into the 1980s, barring unforeseen developments.

This movement toward civilian rule would well make the 1980s a decade of constitutional government for Latin America, just as the 1970s was one of military government.

The Peruvian case is perhaps the most interesting of all. Talking with newsmen at the end of last year, General Morales Bermúdez said his government was preparing a plan "to permit the progressive and orderly transition of power to civilians." He promised to disclose details early in February.

Behind the Morales Bermúdez announcement is growing military disenchantment with power. In the early years of military rule, the government of Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado an-

nounced plans to set up a corporative economic structure, neither capitalist nor socialist, in which the owners of industries would be the workers themselves.

Much progress was made in this direction. The fishing industry, for example, was nationalized. Land reform was advanced. Newspapers were taken over and given to different segments of the economy.

But the whole process began to sour as economic conditions worsened and Peru went into an economic slump. National crises and bureaucratic inefficiency were blamed.

Eventually, General Morales Bermúdez overthrew General Velasco Alvarado, and many of the reforms and changes begun under the earlier military government were reversed. The fishing industry is going back to private hands, while the Morales Bermúdez people seek to return to more traditional economic ways as the economy improves.

A return to civilian rule appears the next step.

Readers write

On death sentence; A-Z seating; Africa coverage

It troubles me to read items like the commentary on the death sentence by Roger N. Johnson in your issue dated December 13.

Dr. Johnson speaks in terms of "violence breeding violence." It inevitably does but this is not the issue.

We are speaking of the law, and of carrying out the death sentence, when the crime against society has been such that the criminal has already sentenced himself. He is his own executioner.

He might like to charge others with the responsibility for his crime, and isn't that what we saw with Gary Gilmore? Let the world see him die a "martyr" to violence, just so long as he never has to face the responsibility for his own actions.

Does capital punishment reduce crime? It most certainly does. It places a strong responsibility upon the law to "reasonably pass sentence." But, upon the criminal, it has the effect of ensuring that between him and his potential victim will rise up the vision of himself as his own destroyer — and not as "the victim of circumstances."

It does not seem to me to be just to put to death those who have committed their crimes when the death sentence was not in force.

But when it does come into force it will have many from themselves, and countless others from injury and death.

Man, with his "logos," has forgotten how to

reason clearly. He has forgotten the scriptural example of Judas' betrayal of himself, and of our Lord's words "good were it for that man if he had never been born." Judas came face to face with his sin, and "hanged himself." (Matt. 27:3)

Many times in the history of the world man have been put to death for frivolous crimes, or for political reasons. These things have nothing to do with the law, they are lawless.

One of the reasons for people being "emotionally disturbed" and committing crimes, is that society has not equipped them with firm guidelines. One can afford to lapse into drunkenness or drug-taking, with attendant crime, if an indulgent society will excuse one for violence done while "under the influence," or while "emotionally disturbed."

I think a lot of people who theorize on these matters, have not encountered criminals, i.e. except when the criminals were under restraint or warlock. A patient or a prisoner is a very different person from the criminal at large. Then, only a law that patterns the divine can save him from himself — sickly sentiment and faulty reasoning are no use at all. They are the breeders of violence.

Melbourne Mrs. Ruth Barrows

A student in front row

The most interesting article by Richard Armour: "Does A-Z seating affect how pupils

learn?" reminded me of my own experience along these lines. In high school and college as well as at public lectures I have always endeavored to get into the front row. I found that when I sat as close to the teacher as possible I got the most out of the class and had the least distractions from other students.

Then later, when I was teaching college myself, and when students can sit where they please, I found that my best students sat in front while those in the back tended to be either apathetic or tended to try to cheat. Of course there are exceptions — but in general this holds true.

Fortunately I was able to make the "semi-circle" arrangement in my modern language classes in college. I found this to be of great help and would endorse this seating while heartily for more reasons than one. It is of great help to the teacher as well as the students and I hope that Mr. Armour's article reaches the Teachers' College and classes.

Antonia V. Domisch
Retired Assistant Professor
Steinwiesonweg, West Germany

Solution too simple

June Goodwin and her colleagues deserve a medal. They pop up all over the African continent discussing how this country and that should be run and faithfully relaying the views of men and women of every color and creed.

And they maintain a creditably unbiased attitude unlike most of the British press with its heavy pro-black slant. But they do not offer solutions beyond the simple one that the whites should just let the blacks rule.

May I suggest that this is too simple an answer? If America and Britain just stand aside whilst giving moral support to the idea of a black takeover the result will be in no one's interests except Mr. Brezhnev's. Instead America should engineer a moderate non-Marxist black government in Rhodesia and offer it every legitimate form of assistance in return for a pledge to protect the lives, property, and jobs of the country's hard-working, efficient whites. And in South Africa America should propose a "package deal" under which the Bantustans would be greatly enlarged and consolidated into single units and their governments, like those of the truncated "white" provinces, would have somewhat greater powers than a state of the U.S.A. In return for this reform, plus a timetable for majority rule in the federal government with the remaining rather limited powers, America might reasonably offer to join South Africa to a South Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Isle of Man Howard L. Fry

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

Carter and human rights

The Carter administration is wasting no time setting the right tone in the conduct of foreign policy. By publicly rebuking Czechoslovakia for harassing human rights activists in violation of the Helsinki declaration, the State Department has taken an unusual and pointed step. It has thereby sent out a signal not only to the Prague government but, more importantly, to Moscow and indeed governments everywhere that it intends to pay more attention to human rights in the spirit of President Carter's pledge that "because we are free we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere."

Long believing that the United States has somehow impaired its image as a defender and advocate of human freedoms, we can only applaud this step. In too many instances over the past few years the United States Government has failed to seize opportune occasions to take a forceful moral position. As a result it has discouraged forces abroad struggling for liberty and conveyed the impression, often a false one, that America is willing to compromise its standards in the pursuit of realpolitik.

We recognize at the same time that the pursuit of morality in foreign policy is a difficult and complex one. The United States cannot moralize or seek to impose its standards on others. It must be remembered that only a few of the nations of the world today subscribe to or share America's democratic values and that the U.S. must deal with and even often aid dictatorships whose systems are inimical to its own. To subordinate all foreign policy to considerations of human rights is not only unrealistic; it would be dangerous.

What policymakers must try to do is balance judiciously the requirements of maintaining peace and stability in the world, improving the economic lot of peoples everywhere, and fostering governments' attention to human rights wherever this is feasible. The latter point is important. For if Washington sternly makes

observance of civil rights a condition of cooperation — with the Russians, for instance — it could produce the opposite reaction, stiffening the backs of its adversaries and heightening rather than reducing tension.

Clearly the question must be dealt with on a case-by-case basis and the effects carefully tested. There are times when Kissingerian "quiet diplomacy" has accomplished more than strong-arm tactics in securing more freedom for people. This was so in the matter of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, the flow of which the Kremlin stemmed once Congress made it a precondition of trade concessions. On other occasions a more open action in support of democratic behavior could be effective. South Korea is an obvious example.

In this instance it cannot be said that the State Department is meddling in Czechoslovak affairs. The fact is that the Czechs along with the Russians and other East European governments all put their signatures to the Helsinki accord, thereby themselves for the first time recognizing "human rights" as an integral element of their relations with the West. The repressive treatment which Czech authorities are meting out to writers, journalists, former politicians, and others arises precisely because the latter have petitioned their government to accord them their rights under the Helsinki agreement, international covenants and their own constitution.

Behind the State Department's move is perhaps also a practical motive. A conference meets in Belgrade in June to review the Helsinki documents and compliance with them. If the Czechs and the Russians and others do not reverse their current crackdown on dissidents and do more to live up to commitments under the Helsinki pledges, the Belgrade conference promises to be a contentious, hostile one. That, in turn, would be damaging to détente and the effort to get East-West agreements in other areas.

Young's mission to Africa

It is not yet clear if 1977 is to be a year of conciliation or confrontation in southern Africa. What is clear is that at the moment efforts to reach a settlement on white-ruled Rhodesia have come to an impasse, and that the resulting situation is a cause for concern in Washington as well as London and African capitals. Thus it is appropriate that Andrew Young is visiting several key black African areas in his initial mission as the new American Ambassador to the United Nations.

The Young trip is being described as "strictly a fact-finding mission" during which he will listen and report back to President Carter on African problems and how black African leaders believe they should be solved. That is as it should be, for the new chief United States representative at the UN obviously will have to deal with African issues a great deal in the next few months, and one does not carve out solutions of this magnitude overnight.

This is a time, moreover, when there is growing sentiment that a well-planned U.S. initiative for a southern Africa solution is the best way to fill the gap left by the breakdown of recent British efforts. True, Americans have deep reservations about getting overly involved in racial problems so far from home, with the memory of Angola still fresh in mind. And former Secretary of State Kissinger's attempt to prepare the way for an agreement on Rhodesia did not bear fruit. But one alternative to a peaceful solution is race war on a larger scale in southern Africa, with all the wider dangers that might entail. So pressure on Washington to continue the effort to find a negotiated alternative naturally is very strong.

The two countries Mr. Young is visiting — Tanzania and Nigeria — meanwhile are well chosen. Of the so-called "frontline" countries adjacent to Rhodesia, Tanzania under President Nyerere has long been an intellectual and physical home for black liberation movements. It has provided the training areas for the black guerrillas who freed Mozambique from the Portuguese, and who today are trying to force Rhodesia to accept black majority rule.

In Tanzania, Mr. Young, will encounter the men who already are contemplating the next steps to be taken against the Smith regime in Rhodesia. Some of them will decide if fighting is to accelerate — or which peaceful alternatives are acceptable. Their views need to be known in the White House.

Huge, populous Nigeria is entirely different. It is not a frontline nation in the sense of proximity to southern Africa. But it is frontline in the sense of being one of Africa's foremost powers. It has been restive and inward-turning after a succession of government coups. And, in the wake of Angola, it has been less than friendly toward the U.S.

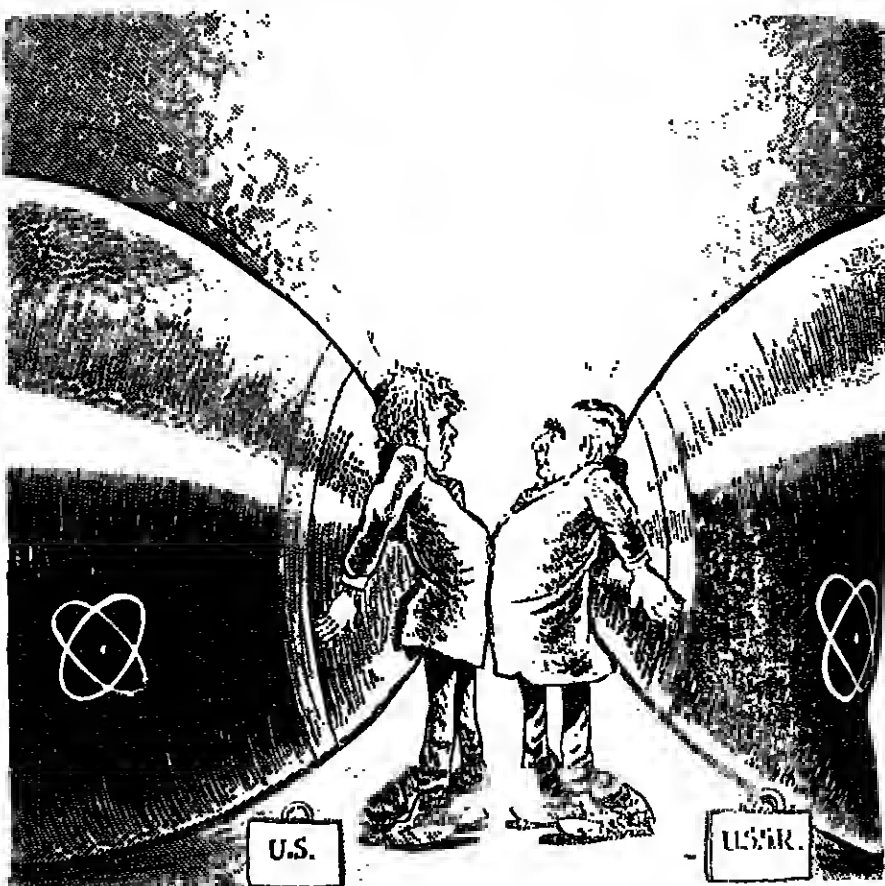
Thus it is a good sign that Mr. Young go there and reaffirm American interest in a West African country, as well as in East Africa (Tanzania) and southern African affairs. It is not just that Nigeria is celebrating the massive Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture at this time. It is also because a stable, progressive Nigeria is vital to Africa today — and because Nigeria's oil will be even more important in the future.

Culture and controversy in Paris

Art thrives on controversy, and Paris's mammoth new Georges Pompidou National Center of Art and Culture must be doing something right. The outcries tend to begin with one look at the structure, which seems like a building turned inside out, leaving pipes and grids and other technology crawling all over the exterior. People, too, crawl on the sides, seen through escalator tubes like those at Charles de Gaulle Airport. France's other recent innovative memorial to a departed leader.

But the pipes are brightly painted. Some observers are exhilarated by facades that bear a resemblance to contemporary technological sculpture and a symbolic relevance to art, age wrapped in technology. Certainly, with the

'Now as to curbing the expansion of nuclear weapons... we have to start somewhere'



...we have to start somewhere'

Signs of a thaw on Cyprus?

Cyprus has been an unsolved trouble spot in the Eastern Mediterranean for so long that one can only welcome any fresh effort to end the political stalemate over the island's future. That is why it is an encouraging sign that President Makarios and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş have finally met for face-to-face discussions.

The mere fact that leaders of the rival Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities can get together raises hope that a negotiated settlement eventually will emerge. But the problems are complex, and both sides have been inflexible in the past. So unless a reasonable amount of give-and-take develops in the talks this time, it is too soon to do more than wait for a breakthrough.

Yet clearly, the need for a solution is as great as ever, and this is an appropriate moment for resumption of direct high-level contact between the two communities. The United States, for one, is interested in seeing Cyprus negotiations again under way, along with moves to stabilize the Middle East situation in general. And the new U.S. Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, has had firsthand experience

with the intricacies of Cyprus in the past. His presence in an official Washington role of itself an achievement for Greek and Turkish elements on Cyprus, to say if they can reach their differences.

The Makarios-Denktaş talks merely could provide an atmosphere for starting necessary talks of allaying the hostilities in Cyprus, which intensified following the 1974 invasion by Turkish troops and continued to the present Turkish occupation of 40 percent of the island. Beyond Cyprus itself, relations between Greece and Turkey remain uneasy, on such matters as Aegean Sea boundaries and oil rights.

The hope is that the leaders' meeting's successful "green line" boundary between Greek and Turkish sectors of Cyprus will be the stage for further intercommunal talks. These in turn might lead to a full-scale conference that would end the long dead-end progress such as that would be most urgent. But outsiders can only wait and watch for specific signs of progress. The part of both sides to make breakthroughs.

"works" on the outside, the center has a vast, free inner space to be used for the modern art, books, cinema, music (with composer-conductor Pierre Boulez in charge), information, and industrial design. The latter department is reportedly starting right out in a valuable spirit of challenging the influence of objects and the media representation of women.

The rest of what happens in the center over the years will determine whether it actually restores Paris to its former role as the world capital of art. President Pompidou tried to make a spectacular gesture in that direction with a Grand Palais exhibition nicknamed the Pompidou show in 1972. That brought out demonstrators, who were charged by riot police, who in turn became part of the exhibition in

Why they say no to Concorde

By David Ansley

Rosedale, New York
7:37 p.m. There we were sitting in Joo Ewald's kitchen when the house began to vibrate.

An ear-shattering whine and roar drowned further talk. Through the insect screen on the kitchen door we caught a passing glimpse of the four-engine Boeing 707 as it dips just above the garage roof down toward the runway of Kennedy International Airport.

The people who live in these modest, one- and two-family, wood-frame homes deeply believe in the flag and the country and "Moni."

Yet these are the people who have taken to the streets in their Chevies, their Fords, and their Plymouths, snarling airport traffic in outraged protest against the possible arrival of that pride and joy of Anglo-French technical

achievement, the supersonic Concorde.

7:39 p.m. A deeper, crescendoing thunder swamps conversation. A 747 Jumbo makes its brief appearance at the kitchen door — "the Whisper Jets, they're the best," shouts Gerstine Ewald.

Joe, a massive construction worker with bristling brown hair and moustache, is chairman of "ROAR" — an anti-Concorde acronym originally standing for "Rights Of All Residents" but later broadened hopefully to "Return Our American Rights." Mike Biggio, an accountant from across the street, is "national coordinator."

The Ewald kitchen burns with their collective fury and frustration... against the New York Port Authority which operates Kennedy, against the airlines, against politicians whose attention span is limited to election campaigns,

against city cuts in police, fire, and library services, against rising taxes and prices, against France's President Giscard ("discard") d'Estaing.

It's quickly clear that Concorde is merely the last straw that threatens to break the back of Rosedale's deeply ingrained, low-abiding patience. The supersonic transport has become a symbol of all authority's apparent disregard for middle-class values and hopes.

"It's the buildup of everything, they're choking me to death," says Joe. "And then this Concorde comes along and I say, 'Hey, man, wait a minute...'"

7:42 p.m. A 747 swoops slowly past with a voice-battering whine.

The Mikes, Joes, Jacks, and Geraldines of Rosedale have had enough. Whatever the result of test service at Washington's Dulles International Airport, they are irrevocably convinced that Concorde landings at Kennedy will add unbearable decibels to their present dis-

comfort. They distrust the U.S. Department of Transportation's proposed 18-month "trial period" as the thin end of an unstoppable wedge.

"We know... that once they put the SST into service it'll soon run into 30 to 50 flights a day. Eventually they'll all be SSTs."

7:44 p.m. A Boeing 727 thunders over.

Why don't these people leave Rosedale? Because it's home. Jack has lived here all his life. Joe has lived here or in neighboring Elmont. "We're fighting for every speck of our community. Concorde constitutes the most serious threat yet to our community life."

7:46 p.m. The devastating, jarring shriek of a 707 fills the kitchen and shakes the walls.

And what if the courts decide finally that the federal trial period must be honored?

"I figure they'll have to have martial law around JFK; they'll have to call out the National Guard," says Joe. "If it's going to be war, I've got a lot of people behind me."



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Asia

South Koreans want to know:

'What do we get when U.S. troops go home?'

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Saout
The details of American troop withdrawals from South Korea will not be determined until a joint "security consultative conference" is held this summer, but the broad outlines are already clear.

After discussions between American and South Korean officials May 24-26 these points are still apparently up for final clarification:

- How many U.S. soldiers and how much American equipment should be left behind, and how much "compensatory" aid in military sales credits should be granted to South Korea to leave it as "self-reliant" as possible?

- Should the pullout proceed slowly only after compensatory aid, as the South Koreans would like, or step by step with the strengthening of South Korean forces, as favored by the Americans?

- What of the future of some 640 tactical nuclear weapons manned by the Americans in South Korea? Does the recent silence of President Carter after his call to withdraw these mean they (and the personnel who service them) will be left behind? Or, if not, will the United States risk encouraging the South Koreans to build their own nuclear force?

At this writing there has been no official American response to the reported South Korean request for \$1.5 billion in arms credit sales. But Gen. George Brown, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the

two American representatives at the talks, said on leaving Seoul that compensatory aid would include tanks and other armored vehicles, anti-tank weapons, and communications equipment. These are all areas in which the South Koreans are thought to be at a disadvantage, compared with the North Koreans.

General Brown and Undersecretary of State Philip C. Habib said the U.S. withdrawal over a four- to five-year period will include "all combat elements" of the 15,000-man 2nd Infantry Division. But U.S. Air Force and communications units would remain behind, together with an undisclosed number of soldiers in support units.

The departing delegation refused to comment on whether President Carter has decided to back off from his election campaign call for withdrawal of nuclear weapons.

According to news leaks from the Korean side, as quoted in the South Korean press, both aides also agreed to leave intact a U.S. Eighth Army contingent of undisclosed size as a "backbone force" to maintain American participation in the United Nations command.

All of this raised the question of just how complete a withdrawal is actually contemplated by the Carter administration. The 2nd Infantry Division makes up only 15,000 of the more than 41,000 U.S. military men now in South Korea.

Moreover, both the U.S. and South Korea have the option of slowing the U.S. withdrawal, if the North Korean reaction appears threatening.

According to the South Korean press, the two countries have tentatively agreed to the withdrawal of one brigade of the 2nd Infantry Division in mid-1978. Both sides would then examine the strategic impact before proceeding.

During the transitional period of U.S. withdrawal and South Korean buildup, the North Koreans thus would be given an incentive to avoid aggressive action by being told, in effect, that only "good behavior" on their part could ensure a major American withdrawal.

Monitor contributor David Sharp reports from Tokyo:

South Korea has nothing but praise for Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub, the third-ranking U.S. Army officer in that country until he was recalled by President Carter.

To the South Koreans, the Singlaub affair is the first real test of strength between American "hawks" and "doves" on the Korean withdrawal issue.

Since there are few "doves" in Korea today — they are even considered an endangered species — the Korean preferences are obvious.

The Seoul government hopes that General Singlaub's recall will stir up an intense debate to force the President to back down on the American pullout.

Undersecretary of State Habib and General Brown stopped over in Tokyo to brief Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda on discussions they held with Korean officials about the withdrawal.

The Japanese were understandably not happy about what they had to say.

General Singlaub is called "MacArthur" by the Japanese press. Regardless of his subordination to President Truman, Gen. MacArthur retains a good image in Japan.

Seoul newspapers have run long and about the 20-year career of General Singlaub. One daily said of him, "We firmly believe Major General Singlaub spoke reasonably. White House may not have a sense of the U.S. forces command in Korea due to the movement of the North Korean communists."

Although the Japanese refuse to be drawn into the Singlaub debate in public, a Defense Agency official interviewed by this correspondent in Tokyo slammed his hand on the table when asked about the recall of the General. "The man is talking sense. Can't you see that, or is he still trying to be a spy?"

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Angola: Cubans again ride to Neto's rescue

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The insurrection in the Angolan capital, Luanda, put down with the help of the Cuban expeditionary force in the country, is a reminder that President Agostinho Neto:

- is still far from establishing a national leadership presiding over a united Angola.

- Depends as much as ever on the 15,000 to 20,000 Cubans in Angola to hold the country together and keep him in power.

The Angolan embassy in Rome said "Cuban comrades" helped put down the revolt May 27. For a time, rebels seized the broadcasting station and called for support for ousted government and former ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) officials: one

time Interior Minister Nito Alves and Jose Van Dunem.

Mr. Alves, prior to his dismissal as Interior Minister last November, had long been identified as a focus of opposition against Mr. Neto within the MPLA leadership. He is the darling of the younger generation of black poor in Luanda's slums. Still in his 20s with a "black power" influence from the Mbundu tribe (which lives close to the capital), Mr. Alves embodied a challenge to the older, cosmopolitan, Europeanized intellectuals — some of them of mixed race — who have dominated the MPLA since, with Cuban and Soviet help, it emerged victor in Angola's civil war.

Mr. Neto's strident reaction to the insurrection bespeaks his awareness of his own tenuous situation — if he did not have the Cubans to

help keep him in power. President Mohuto of neighboring Zaire has just reported the quelling, with Moroccan and other help, of the incursion into Zaire's Shaba Province by Zaire rebels (usually referred to as "Katangese gendarmes") who were thought to have the sympathy of Mr. Neto.

In southern Angola, the supporters of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement are reported to be harassing the central government's lines of communication. And in the far north, a separatist movement in the Cabinda enclave — where Gulf Oil of the United States provides the largest source of foreign income — is a constant challenge to Mr. Neto's authority. These recent events prove how indispensable the Cubans are to that authority.



By Cameraph

Neto: aware of his tenuous situation



GENEVA
switzerland

Sri Lanka: where an empty rice bowl is a vote lost

By A. R. Meedils
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Colombo, Sri Lanka
In six weeks it will all be over — the political drama that has gripped Sri Lanka for more than two years.

The voters of this South Asian island country of 13 million people are scheduled to go to the polls July 21 to choose a new government, just as their big neighbor, India, did back in March. The question is, will the voters here do as the Indians did and reject the longstanding leadership of their woman prime minister?

The Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and her ruling Freedom Party are well aware of the Indian example as they contest the 168 seats in the newly enlarged National State Assembly (the outgoing one, which was dissolved March 18, had 157 seats), as Parliament is known here.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's efforts to lead her party and government into the last lap of this political race have been staggered somewhat. In recent months she has been beset with riots in the education sector, strikes in the industrial sector, and disobedience in the civil-service corps. A series of defections from the ruling coalition has stripped it of its last remaining partner, the Communist Party, as well as several key members of her own party.

The Prime Minister is trying to hold on to the post she has held since 1970. Normally, elections would have been called two years ago, but her government drew up a new Constitution extending the life of the present government until this year. When the original date for new elections passed without them, the confrontation between Mrs. Bandaranaike and her opponents became increasingly heated.

Now she is criss-crossing the country, asking the voters to let her "continue the socialist program" her government has initiated. She cites the government's achievements: agricultural improvements due to the development of the Mahaveli River valley; a ceiling on land

ownership at 50 acres per person; and nationalization of the island's tea, rubber, and coconut estates as well as of some of the larger private companies and a major portion of the foreign trade sector.

In Sri Lanka, elections can be won or lost over a plate of rice. Recognizing this, Mrs. Bandaranaike is claiming that the Mahaveli River project — the largest development effort of its kind ever undertaken here — is taking the country nearer self-sufficiency in rice. To try to prove the point, her food minister announced the per-person weekly rice ration was being increased from three pounds to four as of May 20.

The Prime Minister scorns her No. 1 rival, the United National Party (UNP), as "capitalist" and incapable of giving the country either a good or a socialist government.

Indeed, the UNP leader, J. R. Jayewardene has been working overtime to try to erase the capitalist image of his party. Traditionally the landlords and affluent members of the business community have found the UNP their champion, but from the time he assumed control of the party in 1974 Mr. Jayewardene has attempted to give it a socialist character.

The UNP proposed no alternative to the Bandaranaike government's program of nationalization, largely because the process already has started and it would have been futile to try to reverse it. But the Prime Minister seems to think the best way to discredit it is to continue planning on the capitalist model.

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Africa

'Blasts' of African Horn oust West, Soviet attachés

By Jane Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

There have been more blasts and counter-blasts on the Horn of Africa.

Ethiopia has ousted American, British, and Egyptian military attachés (plus half the U.S. Embassy staff) in almost the same time that Sudan gave about 50 more Russians their marching orders from Sudan. Sudan had already ordered about 30 Russian military personnel out the week before.

The strategic triangle of land jutting into the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean has become the arena for a tug-of-war between the West and the Arab world on one hand and the Soviet Union and Ethiopia on the other.

The overall picture is so fluid that no one is predicting the next move, let alone the outcome.

The most likely reason for the ousting from Ethiopia of the military attachés is that the Ethiopian Government is preparing to move against Eritrea. This is the territory in the north of the country which has been in effect part of Ethiopia since the peace settlement after World War II.

With an undetermined number of Cubans now in Ethiopia and an army of peasants (200,000 being the number given by Eritreans in Khartoum) marching north to Eritrea, the Ethiopian military junta may be making a fresh attempt to stop the 15-year-old guerrilla war by Eritrean separatists against Ethiopian rule.

Western analysts here deem that the only way Ethiopia can win the war is to virtually devastate the civilian population. This is because the Eritreans have become well-organized and more experienced. The two liberation movements in Eritrea are now holding a secret meeting in an attempt to unite their forces. The guerrillas are reliably reported to have recently shot down three F-5 fighters of the Ethiopian Air Force with artillery fire, even though the guerrillas do possess anti-aircraft weapons.

The timing of the Soviet shift to help Ethiopia after two years of hedging on the part of Ethiopia's military leaders baffles many Western analysts. The shift could easily cost the Soviet Union its ties with Somalia, whose people have considered Ethiopia an enemy for centuries.

The Somalis, who are extremely nationalistic, have never liked the Russians, according to Western Arabists here. And yet the Somalis feel the need for guaranteed supplies of weapons. They are not likely to get those from the West in the quantities they want. But the Somalis clearly now want to loosen their hitherto close Soviet ties.

The latest signs are visits to Somalia by Dr. Francis Deng, a top adviser to Sudan's President Nimeiry and by British Foreign Office official Ted Rowlands. The British visit was the first such British contact for years.

Another new element in the tug-of-war are reliable reports that Sudan may take the case of Eritrea to the United Nations.

One of the main reasons most African countries have not hitherto supported the Eritrean guerrillas is that they have been viewed as a



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

group set on seceding from Ethiopia and wrecking the latter country's unity. The idea of secession scares African governments because almost all of them, not presiding over homogeneous populations, are susceptible.

But if Sudan takes the issue of Eritrea to the UN, it would argue that it is a case of occupation by not seceding from Ethiopia. Eritrea's case is similar to that of Namibia (South-West Africa) which is "occupied" by South Africa, according to this argument, that is, Eritrea was a UN-mandated territory administered by Ethiopia, and that mandate was violated after World War II when Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie went the whole way and annexed the territory.

This Sudanese argument would be a way to get Africa as a whole off the hook over Eritrea, should the guerrillas win or a stalemate result eventually leading to an independent country.

As for Sudan itself, the government here has become steadily anti-Soviet since 1971 when Communists were involved in a coup attempt against President Nimeiry.

President Nimeiry is allying himself with the Egyptians as a kind of security, but at the risk of losing his vast support among the non-Arabic southern Sudanese. Sudan's ties with Morocco are also strong.

When the Sudan ousted the Russians last week, Sudan was asking the United States for fighter planes because the Sudanese Air Force is negligible compared with Ethiopia's. So far, all the Americans say publicly is that they can give Sudan C-130 transport planes.

A more likely source of planes is France which is also considering a Sudanese request. The French are getting more deeply involved in the Sudanese economy as well.

In a speech a fortnight ago President Nimeiry took a less strident tone toward Ethiopia than in the recent past. But that does not mean Sudan will stop providing a route for Eritreans to fight their guerrilla war.

The Eritreans are using Soviet weapons, bought on the Middle East black market, to fight Ethiopians who are allied now with the Soviets. And the same could happen between Somalia and Ethiopia - Soviet guns against Soviet guns.

A lot of people are shaking their heads over the confusion in the Horn of Africa and waiting to see what the course of events will be.

Ex-Rhodesian Bishop speaks out

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York — "If there is a transfer of power promptly, without any hesitation, and if the will of the majority of people is recognized, then I think it's possible that there could be a peaceful transition [to black majority rule in Rhodesia]," says Bishop Donald R. Lamont. Formerly the Roman Catholic Bishop of Umtali, he was deported from Rhodesia March 23.

On Oct. 1 last year a Rhodesian court sentenced Bishop Lamont to 10 years' imprisonment with hard labor for failing to report the possible whereabouts of suspected black nationalist guerrillas. In February the sentence was reduced to four years, three of them suspended; he was then told he would be deprived of his citizenship and expelled.

Earlier, as head of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, the bishop had accused the government of precipitating the disorder in Rhodesia by its racist policies and stubborn refusal to change. His group also had charged the regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith with systematic abduction and torture of civilians.

Speaking here at the African-American Institute, Bishop Lamont told of his own black missionaries and priests being arrested and beaten. He estimated that between 200 and 400 people had been hanged for "political and politically motivated offenses" over the past four or five years - the numbers begin difficult to assess since their families often were not even informed.

Mr. Smith claimed to be protecting Christianity and Western civilization in enacting Rhodesia's tough "anti-terrorist" laws and his

background of discrimination against blacks, said Bishop Lamont. But:

"If hanging men without revealing their names, if indemnifying the security forces against any action they may take as long as they did it 'in good faith,' if the denial of basic access to education, if the maldistribution of land, if the separation of husband and wife and an impossible labor situation, if that is Christianity then we'd better get out."

The real "terrorists" in Rhodesia are the members of the white minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith, Bishop Lamont declared.

"They're making respectable, by legislation, actions which are terrorist themselves," says the Belfast-born prelate whose deceptively soft voice still contains a lingering Irish brogue.

"The Rhodesia Front regime does not rule with the consent of the people. In the last election it obtained a total of 57,000 votes out of a population of 6½ million. Rhodesia is a political monstrosity, a state without a nation."

Despite this, he said, there was still a remarkable amount of black African goodwill in Rhodesia. Partly because of this, the bishop still sees the possibility of a comparatively peaceful changeover to black majority rule.

The bishop, who says that he opposes violence (including that of the guerrillas) except in self-defense, gives three reasons for not informing the authorities of the probable presence of guerrillas near one of the outposts of his diocese: (1) to protect the church's image of being socially aware and concerned; (2) to protect the lives of local villagers from any overreaction by the security forces; (3) to protect the private relationship of conscience between church and people.

Africa

South African 'homeland' plan backfires

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town — It looks as if the South African Government attempted to create a second African "independent homeland" inside its borders may be obstructed at the last moment by the very man who stands to be the independent homeland's first prime minister.

This second homeland, Bophuthatswana, would make an even more unlikely and curious sovereign independent state in the eyes of the outside world, say white opposition politicians who are opposing the plan.

It consists of six patches of land dotted around three South African provinces amounting in all to about 10 million acres. Its pro-

posed capital, called Mmabatho, meaning "Mother of the Nation," is still being built in the northern Cape Province, and it is estimated about 70 percent of the homeland's income this year will be provided by South Africa. However, the territory has significant mineral reserves.

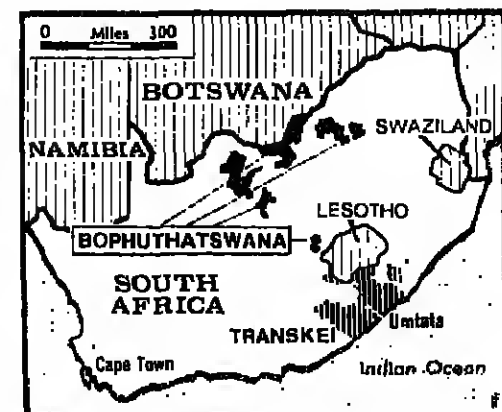
In its hurry to create as many predominantly black areas from so-called white South Africa, which still has more black people than whites, the South African Government has declared that it is unnecessary for a homeland to achieve economic independence before it receives political independence.

And it seems that the elected leader of the Tswana people, the predominant tribe in Bophuthatswana, was happy to go along with this. He is Chief Minister Lucas Mangope. When the legislation providing for independence for the

homeland came up in the white South African Parliament, he was an honored guest, sitting either in the visitors' gallery in the House of Assembly in Cape Town or in one of the special balconies reserved for "very distinguished visitors."

When not in Parliament, Mr. Mangope and his entourage were accommodated in the sleek, towering, five-star Heerengracht Hotel not far away.

But a row erupted a fortnight ago when opposition Members of Parliament demanded an explanation from the Government of a letter they had received in which Mr. Mangope and his interim government made it clear that they were far from satisfied with the terms for independence the South African Government was offering, and that they had in fact sent the South African Government an ultimatum.



Now the main opposition parties are demanding that the Government withdraw the legislation, and Mr. Mangope and his men hurriedly checked out of the Heerengracht and flew home, not even waiting to attend a press conference that Mr. Mangope himself had specially called, or bothering to tell the journalists it had been canceled.

As with Transkei, the row between Bophuthatswana and the South African Government concerns two things basically: (1) the question of land; and (2) the question of the future citizenship of its citizens, especially for those Tswanas who do not live inside the boundaries of the proposed new independent state. It seems that Mr. Mangope will be more intransigent about both issues than the Transkei leaders.

According to the South African Government, all Tswanas - more than 1 million - who live outside the homeland (which itself accommodates only about 800,000 people) will all lose their South African citizenship Dec. 3, when the new homeland is scheduled for independence, and becomes Bophuthatswana instead. They will thus have the status of foreign laborers temporarily in South Africa.

Mr. Mangope has disagreed, and said that he is not prepared to "create a state of statelessness" for Tswanas who do not want to be citizens of the new "state."

As for the land question, Mr. Mangope wants much more than the South African Government is offering, and declares that the present piecemeal allocation is "unrealistic, unfair, and makes efficient administration of Bophuthatswana impossible."

Cuban presence and Western concern grow in Africa

By James Nelson Goussell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Caracas, Venezuela — Cuba's military presence in Africa, which a month ago showed signs of winding down, appears again to be growing - a development that sparks fresh concern in Washington and other Western capitals.

The U.S. State Department says that at least 50 Cuban military advisers have arrived in Ethiopia. There also is evidence that the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from other countries has been either slowed or stopped.

The State Department indicated that some 15,000 Cuban military advisers and troops still are stationed in at least eight African countries. Other intelligence sources suggest the number may be as high as 25,000, including civilian advisers who reportedly have been arriving in Angola as the troop pullout there went on.

The latest reports are bound to adversely affect efforts to improve Cuban-United States relations.

Hemisphere observers see Cuban activities in Africa as an indication that Cuban President Fidel Castro wants to play a role of consequence in the third world. Largely prevented from doing so in his own backyard (in Latin America), the Cuban leader may well see Africa as an arena where he can influence the course of events.

In many Western circles the Cuban presence in Africa is seen as nothing less than stark interference in internal African affairs.

The Carter administration is deeply worried about the new development, particularly about the presence of the Cubans in Ethiopia, and the suspicion that more may be on their way. Although Dr. Castro maintains that his men in Ethiopia are diplomats and doctors, not soldiers, Washington is not convinced, saying the Cubans who arrived recently are "military technicians."

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Some cause for alarm

By United Press International

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New Zealand

Muldoon plays catch with 200-mile fishing zone

By Alisair Carthew
Specialist to The Christian Science Monitor

Wellington, New Zealand
Little New Zealand is trying to play the Russians off against the Japanese to win favorable trade terms from the latter.

And this is despite the fact that Prime Minister Robert Muldoon is a vociferous opponent of Soviet "expansionism" and has little time for Soviet political objectives.

New Zealand is using its proposed 200-mile fishing zone as its weapon. It wants to extract an assurance of regular access for its agricultural products to the lucrative Japanese market.

The Muldoon government announced it was already negotiating with "some countries" for access to the 200-mile zone, which has been fished heavily in the past by both the Japanese and the Soviets. This was interpreted in official circles as a clear indication that if the Japanese did not grant the desired

trade assurances, then the Soviets would get preferential treatment here.

Soviet vessels, it is thought, catch about 40,000 tons of fish a year. But the Japanese take nearer 100,000 tons, so Japan has more to lose.

"Get tough" strategy

This "get tough" strategy is being tried because Japan announced it would take only 35,000 tons of New Zealand beef this year — 10,000 tons fewer than last year. The Japanese tendency to ask for small allocations on short notice makes it difficult to plan ahead, exporters complain.

Said the Prime Minister: "I regret that we have had to come to this point as a result of our failure to make progress by discussion and negotiation. The government has come to the conclusion that, in the light of our failure to get an adequate response on the question of farm products, no agreement will be signed with any Japanese fishing organization

until we can get an assurance of regular access for our farm products in the Japanese market."

The continuing Japanese policy has come as a personal blow to Mr. Muldoon, who thought he had received assurances in Tokyo last year that a more long-term relationship would evolve.

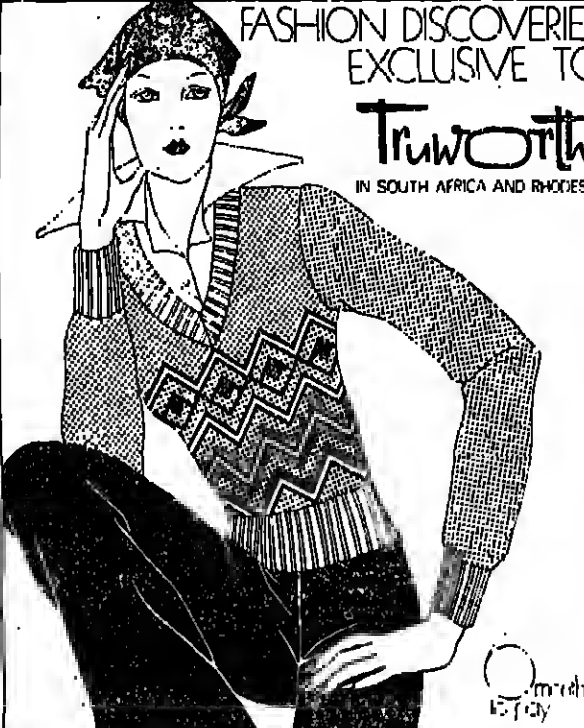
On the other hand, the Soviet Union is proving a good customer for New Zealand products. Trade is currently 33 to 1 in New Zealand's favor — and growing.

The main problems with Japan are over dairy products, beef, lamb, and apples — all of them among this country's major exports.

The Muldoon government, realizing that its opportunities to use some economic muscle against the Japanese are rare, is determined to exploit this weakness as much as possible.

So far, the Japanese reaction has been low-key: the Tokyo government says it is "studying" the New Zealand proposals.

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End PLO agreement, say Lebanese rightists

By Helena Cobben
Specialist to
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon
Lebanon's right-wingers have declared that the 1969 Cairo agreement intended to regulate relations between the Lebanese state and the Palestinian guerrilla movement should be considered null and void.

The move provoked an angered reaction from the Palestinians who dubbed it, "a renewed declaration of fascist war."

But there was some hope here that the rightists' declaration, although adding to the widespread feeling of tension in the country, might at the same time remove one of the toughest bones of recent contention here — the rightists' own previous insistence that implementation of the agreement should be considered the first priority on the road to postwar political reconciliation.

A return to respect of the agreement was one of the elements decreed by the Arab summit meetings which in October, 1976, negotiated an end to the Lebanese civil war. They charged a committee representing Syria, Egypt, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia with supervising implementation of the agreement.

But the committee ran into insuperable difficulties:

- The Palestinian guerrillas were unwilling to restrict their guerrilla activities to the terms laid down in the agreement's highly controversial text so long as the other signatory, the Lebanese state, was in no position to offer the guarantees undertaken from its side.

- The southern region bordering on Israel, where defined guerrilla activities were permitted by the agreement, erupted into civil strife after peace had been imposed on the rest of the country by the mainly Syrian peace-keeping force.

- Inter-Arab differences meant that members of the four-party committee could almost never agree on how or when to implement the agreement.

The rightists rapidly became impatient with the delay that resulted, and they proposed their own interpretation of the agreement, whose original text was never officially made public. The "Lebanese Interpretation," as they dubbed it, sought to restrict Palestinian activity to a degree which the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) termed "unacceptable."

But Lebanese President Elias Sarkis apparently signed the "Lebanese Interpretation" in mid-March, and it is this interpretation which he still seeks to implement. The PLO meanwhile argued that a unilateral interpretation could have no force, and it has been supported in this view by Kuwait and Egypt.

The rightists finally despaired of the Cairo agreement ever being implemented, and when the Arab committee's extended mandate ran out recently, with the committee's responsibilities now apparently shifted onto government shoulders, they announced that the whole effort would be a waste of time anyway.

Jobs go begging in Jordan

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Amman, Jordan
The first year of Jordan's current five-year development plan has been so successful that it has already scraped the bottom of its long-standing excess manpower barrel. As a result, for the first time in the kingdom's 30-year history it has now started importing labor.

During the calendar year 1976 a 12 percent growth was registered in gross domestic product, according to Mahmud Sawwan of the National Planning Council. This was the target envisaged in the 1976-80 development plan.

Dr. Sawwan explained that investment during 1976 in both private and public sectors almost reached the targeted levels and that growth in industry and mining reflected the

Jews expelled from Arab lands ask compensation

By Francis Utner
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Most Israelis accept the principle of compensation for Palestinians who were displaced or suffered loss of property through establishment of the state of Israel — something which President Carter has stressed recently. But Israelis add one big and important proviso.

They say that if Palestinians are entitled to compensation then so are the Jewish refugees from Arab countries who have found a home for themselves in the state of Israel.

The World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) has collected the data.

In the first few years after 1948, when the large-scale, albeit unplanned exchange of populations between Israel and the Arab countries took place, 500,000 Arabs fled from the Israeli combat area. In roughly the same period, 850,000 Jews fled from 10 Arab countries.

This is the WOJAC breakdown on these Jewish refugees from Arab lands:

Morocco	240,000	Iraq	135,650
Tunisia	103,000	Syria	25,650
Algeria	138,000	Lebanon	3,200
Libya	38,000	Yemen	54,000
Egypt	74,650	Aden	8,000
Total:	820,650		

These Jews lived in several thousand communities, some of which were 2½ millennia old and traced their history back to the ancient Persian Empire.

Over half a million of these refugees — to be precise, 586,268 — immigrated to Israel. More than half of them came from the three North African countries (Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria), more than 129,000 from Iraq, over 50,000 from Yemen, and the rest for the other countries.

WOJAC was founded in November, 1975, when representatives of Jewish refugees now living in 14 countries, met in Paris. They elected two co-chairmen, Leon Tamman from Britain and Mordechai Ben-Porat from Israel.

Mr. Ben-Porat said: "We demand that as part of any peace negotiations, our claims should also be considered. The property which the Arab governments have sequestered from us exceeds by far that which the Arab refugees left in Israel."

The Israeli Foreign Ministry told this correspondent May 31 that it supports in principle the claims of WOJAC, although it can speak only on behalf of those of its members who are Israeli residents.

Foreign Minister Yigal Allon has confirmed this support in an official statement on the record, as did Justice Minister Haim Zadok in the Knesset (Parliament) last February. The Knesset itself debated the matter in January, 1975, and then referred the question to its Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee for a decision. The committee decided officially to endorse the demands of WOJAC.

WOJAC has not yet made a list of Jewish property in Arab lands, but some individual national groups have started drawing up lists. Mr. Ben-Porat estimates the total at "many billions of dollars."

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How TV is changing our society

The screen is us

By Arthur Unger
Television critic of The Christian Science Monitor

New York
"In the year 2001 when we look in the Oxford Dictionary for the word 'broadcasting' we will find it defined as a means of communication used by our ancestry for a short period of time!"

So says Jean d'Arcy, former chief of UN radio and visual services and head of French television for 10 years. Communications medium or contemporary environment, that is the question. Or both simultaneously. In any case, the chances are that TV in its present form is temporary, a mere interim stage in its development into something bigger, broader, and possibly even better... or worse.

Mr. d'Arcy is now involved in cable TV and direct satellite transmission. He is a man who looks ahead and sees the future in the present.

"Either optics will completely change the way of communication. I believe that broadcasting in its present form of transmission by airwaves will disappear. We pay too much attention now to this present form since it will change totally in our lifetime."

What to me is strange is that some 40 years after the launching of TV, we still consider it as foreign to our

body. It is not a machine — it is an extension of our own senses, just like a computer is an extension of the brain. It makes no difference if you see it with your own eyes — with or without the aid of a machine. Once we really accept the integration of TV with our own body, many of its effects will have to be reconsidered."

New uses ahead

Mr. d'Arcy believes that we are almost finished with the era in which TV screens are used only for receiving pictures. "With the appearance of new technologies like cable, video discs and cassettes, citizens band radio, direct satellite transmissions, and two-way access to a central computer, each individual is a personal communications terminal... a self-medium."

Mr. d'Arcy constantly prefates his statements with the words: "Maybe this sounds like McLuhan..."

Well, the fact is that any study of television and its effect upon our society inevitably leads to Marshall McLuhan, who in 1963 in a book entitled "Understanding Media" conceptualized an environmental theory of what he calls the "electric age" (radio and television). According to McLuhan, the new media have so speeded up communications and broadened the sharing of experience and events that the world has become one great big "global village." He classified all media as either "hot" or "cool," with TV designated as a cool medium that engages its audiences but does not excite or arouse them. McLuhan stressed the fact that television inevitably would grow beyond the bounds of communications or entertainment and become an environment itself. Instead of merely transmitting a message, the medium (or environment) would itself become the message.

Even then, McLuhan railed against the "book-oriented" critics who assume that individual programming content is more important than the all-encompassing ef-

fect of instant global awareness. He warned that if the speed of life — so, everything we call efficient — is too fast, it is in great danger. The post office, for instance, has turned Oriental.

Many followers acquired

McLuhan made many converts with this theory. Despite his tendency in both writing and speaking to jump from one far-out concept to another, eliminating transitional thoughts and sentences. Even today, many of television's most respected heavy thinkers constantly make reference to McLuhan and his theories.

Why not talk to the man himself? Now a professor of English at the University of Toronto's Center for Culture Technology, Mr. McLuhan, 71, still is as lively as ever. He often says his name still is a curse.

"When they say they sound like McLuhan, they mean, 'I know that.'"

"On the phone, on X-ray, or on the airwaves, we don't have bodies. The electric man has been deprived of his physical body and he has been metamorphosed into a language. This rip-off of the physical being has had the most awful effects on human identity."

"TV is an inner trip, a drug. Not just figuratively speaking. The way you see TV is by going inside the tube. TV uses the eye as an ear, an extension of our central nervous system."

If he holds that belief, does Dr. McLuhan feel that TV is potentially addictive? "TV is by its very nature addictive — but so are any of the specialist media that intensify sensory life. It is a normal part of the media experience."

Dr. McLuhan has become a vocal advocate of the left hemisphere-right hemisphere bicomeral brain theory espoused by Julian Jaynes.

Shift from left to right

"Now," says Dr. McLuhan, "all of that measuring and quantifying of TV programming is left hemisphere and has almost nothing to do with the ordinary experience of our electric age, which is all right hemisphere. Yes, the electric age has shifted us from left hemisphere by comparison with the left."

Dr. McLuhan is at present working on a new book about big business. "The organizational chart cannot

McLuhan seems vague and way-out, consider the ability that he is vague and way out. Very often one is that somehow one has misread some major point in theory... and it turns out that one hasn't."

But Klem is one of the few men actively involved in advertising who familiarized himself with many of McLuhan's theories early in the 1960s and was in a position to act upon them. He accepted the "global village" concept that TV has turned the world into one big communications network sharing the same experiences (programs) very often at the same moment.

Mr. Klem is the man responsible for the LOP (Least Objectionable Program) theory of TV viewing, and in an interview came up with a newer theory — MJP (Most Justifiable Program). He has gained a reputation as a kind of "Brownsville (Brooklyn) McLuhan" among the heaviest thinkers. Back in 1971 he postulated a hypothesis that the television family gathers around the TV to watch TV itself, not a particular program, and that it is finally chosen is the show which is most acceptable to the largest number of viewers in the room, the objectionable program. Thus, the LOP theory.

Any facets explored

Mr. Klem has been in and out of the network field, operating his own TV-related businesses, acting as research and programming consultant for, among others, NBC, and is now back at one of the programming helms as a vice-president.

He looks for TV programs that will justify the time they devote to it. If they don't find such programs they will say programming is inferior, a waste of time, too violent or whatever. But they find some-

thing which justifies their viewing — even if it contains a lot of violence and sex. For instance, you'll find people saying that "Charlie's Angels" (an adventure series starring three pretty girls) is a great example of high camp on a mass medium. They overindulge a simple little show all the time, just to justify their watching it. "MASH" — superb comedy but a nice little funny show. "Columbo," "Starsky and Hutch," "Kojak" — they're so cute. If you watch dumb programs, you try to endow them with excellence." Thus the viewer Most Justifiable Program theory.

Do TV executives do the same thing to justify putting on these dumb programs?

"I don't," says Mr. Klem. "That's why I'm such a lousy executive. I can't program for my own taste level. My tastes are limited — they don't encompass the whole nation. Just recently I had two programs on that reflected my own taste level — 'La Boheme' and 'Godzilla.' You've got to program for other people. When a TV executive says he programs for himself, it's sheer unadulterated halcyon. That's the kind of thing you say to reporters. The truth is you program for business."

Even television should lead to quality — but that's leaning toward your demise. You've got to face the fact that TV is a mass medium and you can only play for the big middle. The dummies go in and watch what there is and you are forced into watching below your own taste unless you are willing not to partake at all. You program for the two-thirds in the middle and the rest is split between the top and the bottom, who are forced to watch. And you never satisfy anybody really — even on the fringes of the big middle.

Improvement? — maybe

"I suppose you try to improve the level — but the seeds of destruction are there as you program more and more sophisticated stuff, more and more event television, as you get bigger and bigger you build in more dissatisfaction. As the technology gets better, you get to be another medium. Out of radio comes TV, and, finally, the only way to pay for that is not through advertising but through direct payment. That will come."

Mr. Klem feels that TV is a fantastic economy. "We've eaten up all the other media. We now have competition from a fourth network, which will be nine different little networks combined into one unit. That network

will reduce all the program audience and all four networks will look around for some other market and discover ten years too late that they can go into direct cable transmission, not as owners — that's illegal — but as distributors. I think the telephone company should own the cable system."

Is Mr. Klem so certain that the networks are not already working on legal methods of dominating an impending burgeoning cable market?

"Let me assure you — they are, no matter what they say. They want to be in both commercial and cable TV in any way they can."

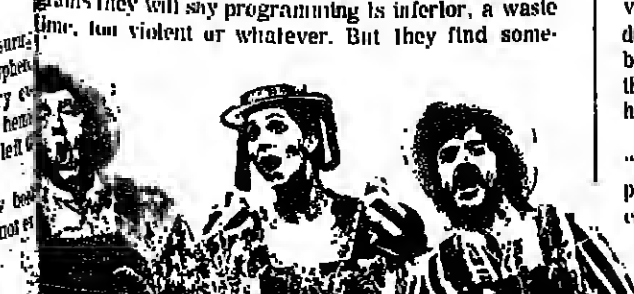
What does Paul Klein the great LOP-MJP expert, feel about TV addiction?

"I don't believe there is such a thing as TV addiction. I believe there is a human condition called irresponsibility. Somewhere people cannot go through their life being responsible — so when they break down it takes the form of smoking, drinking, drug-taking, not working, not living up to potential, watching TV. It happens to be the easiest form of irresponsibility to watch TV. That's why so many people are hooked. Media are very easy to become addicted to, but anybody who becomes addicted to TV would become addicted to any other medium — radio, movies, press..."

Does Mr. Klein believe that TV viewers are being more selective in their viewing today?

"Selective viewing is imagination. Either you have other things to do and therefore have a limited time to watch TV, or in your head, you selected. Everybody is selective. They select 'Laverne and Shirley' or 'Charlie's Angels.' The only way to select 'La Boheme' is to be there at the opera and watch it. Otherwise, you are watching what the networks show you."

First of a two-part series



financial

Soviet banks: branches abroad suffer from politics

By Paul Wohl
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The Soviet Union's reputation as a financial power is not what it used to be. Formerly engaged only in conservative financial operations, Soviet banks abroad have become involved in speculative ventures. And they have suffered losses as a result of politically motivated initiatives.

As early as 1919 the Soviet State Bank set up a branch in England, the Moscow Narodny Bank of London. Other Soviet banks followed in quick succession. The second-largest Soviet bank in Western Europe, the Banque Commerciale pour les Pays du Nord in Paris, has assets of \$3 billion, on which it makes 16 percent profit annually.

At present the Soviets have nine banks in the capitalist world. They plan to open banks or financial representations in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Toronto, Tokyo, and Panama this year. Next year they will start operations in Kingston, Jamaica; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; and Manila.

Soviet banks have existed in the Middle East (Beirut) and Singapore for some time.

All these financial establishments are headed by competent bankers, who are liked and respected by their capitalist colleagues. Fortune magazine has called them "communists with a capitalist accent" and concluded that they are an asset to world trade.

What is less well known is that behind this respectable facade are political directors who receive instructions not from the State Bank's financial technicians, but from the Central

Committee of the Communist Party and the Politburo.

Just as behind every Soviet ambassador there is a political agent holding a less conspicuous position, Soviet bankers apparently always have had their "commissars."

And recently Moscow resorted to appointing KGB or secret police officials to responsible financial posts.

Thus it was announced on March 6 in Soviet Georgia's Russian-language daily Zurya Vostoka that "by order of the U.S.S.R. State Bank, Vladimir A. Patelshvili, a former inspector of the Georgia Party-State Control Committee and Georgian Central Committee, has been appointed manager of the Georgian Republic office of the U.S.S.R. State Bank."

The career of this new State Bank manager marks him as an agent of security police chief and Politburo member Yuri Andropov. His appointment was the first public indication that there is a connection between the State Bank and the State Security Ministry.

The presence of political "commissars" in the Soviet Union's banks abroad may explain why these institutions have become engaged in risky, politically motivated operations that capitalist banks might have shunned. The fairly big loans the Paris bank extended to North Korea and Zaïre last year are examples.

In addition to such clear political motivations in recent months Soviet banks abroad have engaged in risky credit and currency speculation designed to bring in needed hard currency quickly.

The Soviet bloc now has a net debt of \$30.3 billion in the capitalist world, according to the

London Financial Times of May 5. Last year, the Soviet State Bank is reported to have 300 tons (about \$1 billion worth) of gold. It was only a little less than Moscow's other largest export of gold (330 tons) in 1976, as the Soviet Union had to import massive quantities of grain to make up for the crop loss of 1975.

In their haste to bring in hard currency, U.S.S.R.'s banks have suffered losses that come to light only recently. In the first months of 1974 the Soviet Union's Danub Bank in Vienna lost its entire statutory capital of 1 million Austrian schillings (approximately 1 million) through speculative operations.

The Singapore bank last year lost \$40 million through credits given to a doubtful Chinese exporter whose rather sensational disappearance was made public by the London Economist as another capitalist periodical.

Even Moscow Narodny Bank of London, the most prestigious Soviet bank in the capitalist world, suffered losses of several million dollars through credits rashly granted to a shipping company and other operations. The big outcome is pending in the courts.

These ventures, which the competent conservative financial technicians at the head of most Soviet banks probably would not have engaged in on their own, are attributed to political directives handed down from Moscow or to peremptory orders to bring in hard currency in a hurry.

The losses suffered by Soviet banks abroad are far from undermining the financial solidity of the U.S.S.R., but they have punctured the country's financial reputation.

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (c) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British W. German Mark	French Franc	Dutch Guilder	Belgian Franc	Swiss Franc
New York	1.0000	1.7170	4245	2021	4056	0.2730
London	5824	—	2472	1.177	2362	0.16150
Frankfurt	2.357	4.0442	—	4761	9555	0.65320
Paris	4.9480	8.4958	2.1004	—	2.9069	1.37210
Amsterdam	2.4555	4.2332	1.0465	—	4983	1.9762
Brussels	36.0520	61.9185	15.3083	7.2881	14.6368	0.85370
Zurich	2.5038	4.2989	1.0528	5.060	1.0155	0.69430

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: .0027; Australian dollar: 1.3040; Danish krone: .1683; Italian lire: .00128; Japanese yen: .003606; New Zealand dollar: .6916; South African rand: 1.1513.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

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fashion

French brides:
A tradition in white

By Margaret de Miraval
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

"Something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue." In spite of the occasional eccentric who decides to marry on water skis or at the bottom of a coal mine, most brides are pure traditionalists when it comes to the wedding. In France 9 out of 10 girls insist on a "white wedding" and often spend six months salary on the gown which is usually never worn again.

Two things in common between American and French weddings are that more of them take place in June than any other month in the year and that the big day always ends up costing about twice as much as the original estimate. But in France the bride's parents have been saving for years and the sky is the limit for the ceremony, the reception, and the dowry. The latter is a tidy sum of money which is either invested in a bank or employed to set up housekeeping.

In rural villages many farmers continue to observe the old custom of planting a long row of trees on the day a child is born. Fast-growing trees which mature in about 20 to 25 years are cut down and sold for lumber when the boy or girl becomes engaged and this money contributes the dowry or helps defray the cost of the wedding.

At the height of the season in late May and June many couples think in terms of a country wedding, especially city dwellers carried away by the romantic idea of a small old church and a luncheon or reception out-of-doors in a garden.

If one cannot beg or borrow the loan of a friend's house, specialized agencies have a list of private chateaux for rent at a cost of about \$500 for the day and for a bit extra they can provide a flower-trimmed carriage drawn by six white horses to drive the bride and groom from the church to the reception.

As there are two ceremonies in France, the

Paris

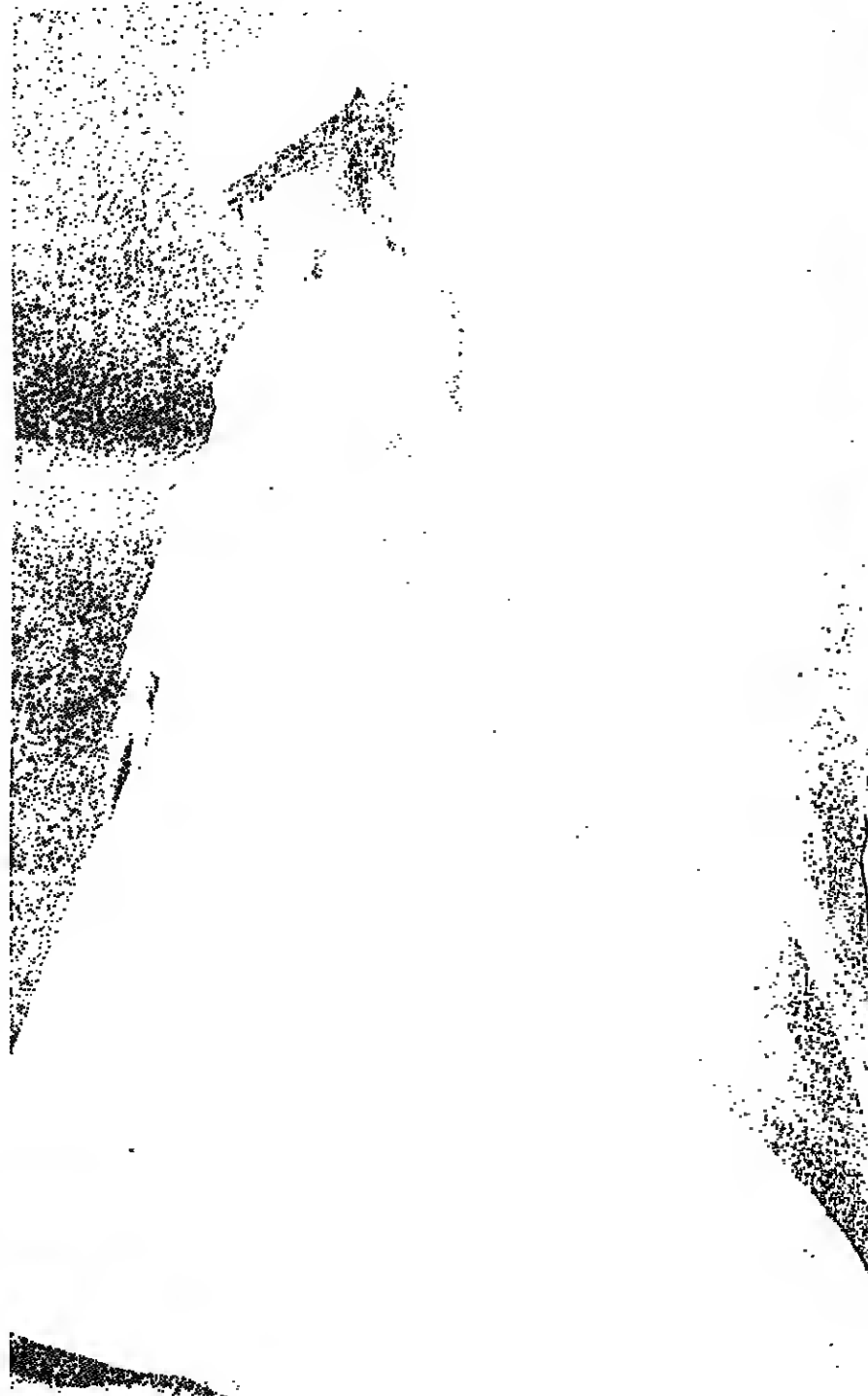
civil service at the mairie (town hall) followed a day or two later by the religious wedding in church, the bride needs two new dresses apart from the trousseau and her "going away" outfit. The big extravagance is, of course, the white gown and all the accessories: the veil or head-dress, gloves, shoes, and the bouquet.

Every haute couture collection in Paris traditionally ends with a wedding gown and in the past few seasons several of the top ranking designers have attempted to launch colored dresses, even gold cloth for Yves Saint Laurent's Velasquez inspired gown, but when it comes to making the actual decision, the vast majority of girls choose white.

Lace is still a big favorite, especially for ultra-formal city weddings. The girls who are going to be married in the country tend to select crisp cottons such as batiste, organdy, and eyelet embroidery.

Many gowns currently evoke a little air of folklore and the classic long veil is often replaced by fanciful hats, bonnets, wreaths, or even a parasol trimmed to match the gown. If the bride does wear a veil it may be an heirloom piece of valuable handmade lace handed down from one generation to the next or an expensive tulle which is cut into little pieces after the ceremony and given to all the women guests as a memento.

Another charming tradition in France is having children as attendants, rather than adult bridesmaids and ushers, and it is not uncommon to see a three-year-old tottling down the aisle clutching the bride's train. The boys may be dressed in velvet trousers and ruffled silk shirts while the girls' dresses are matched with the central theme of the wedding. When the Countess de Vesan's youngest daughter, Soline, married in the country, Nicole dressed a boy of tiny inches in blue and white striped cotton pinfares with matching kerchiefs tied peasant-style under the chin and the children carried small old-fashioned round bouquets of daisies picked fresh in the fields around the church that morning.



From Lella: a new style in an old tradition

Shoes built to make you more attractive . . . from the ankle up

By Evelyn Radcliffe
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

San Francisco
They have been called the ugliest shoes in the world, even by owners of several pairs.

"But ugly is in the eye of the beholder," says one customer, who admits, however, that if you are looking for some pretty little shoes to wear with a new silk dress, you had better look somewhere else.

"What could be more comfortable than

walking in your own footsteps?" says another devotee of that custom-made footwear called Murray Space Shoes. Walking in your own foot steps is exactly what you do in these shoes, because they are made from molds of our own feet.

To join this exclusive group of Space Shoe wearers (said to be about 400,000 strong) takes a lot of money and some degree of patience. By appointment, you visit one of the four stores across the U.S., in San Francisco, New York, Washington, and Philadelphia. There you spend at least an hour and at least \$120 — for a pair.

First, the foot is placed in a soft sand and "wiggled" in to make a negative mold. Then cool plaster is spooned over the impression to make a positive casting. When this is finished the plaster is sent to the Space Shoe factory in Wilmington, Delaware, where it goes through 12 more hours of processing.

In about two months your shoes arrive from Wilmington. And they will look exactly like your foot, too, including any lumps, bumps, or what have you. They are of leather and laced up the side. Sandal styles exist, more and are less functional, according to the makers.

"The whole idea of dressy shoes is one of fashion fascism," says David Travers, the affable San Francisco representative, as we talked in his small store on Sutter Street. "People have been educated to think, 'This is a dressy dress and I must wear dressy shoes with it.' At the same time they may be ruining their feet, their posture, and their expressions with many of the shoes they wear today.

"If a person has a good walk and good posture, they're going to look attractive," Mr.

Travers continued. (Would that it were simple!) "There are spitting beauties. You'll notice more women wearing dress shoes today."

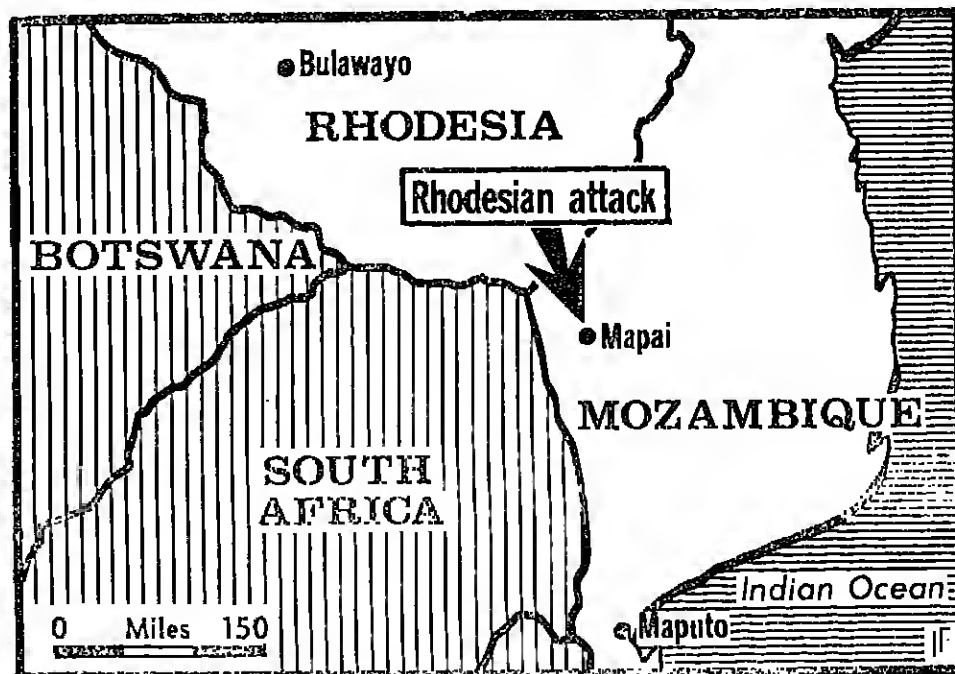
"We realize that fashion-conscious women are not going to wear these shoes at all times," he says. "Not to the opera or to a shopping, gardening, gallerying, and partying. You're sitting shoes at night" (the prettiest).

Mr. Travers used to be an ice store in fact, that's how he met Alan Murray, founder of Space Shoes. Himself an ice store with the problem of cold and uncomfortable feet most of the time until he created Murray shoes. "Thirty-eight years ago Mr. Murray started experimenting with his mold-to-the-foot shoe. He had minor successes and major setbacks until after World War II.

In those early days, many of the people who discovered Space Shoes joined the firm in New York or another. David Travers worked in New York store four years before coming to San Francisco, where he has been the West Coast representative for 11 years. A customer, Lucille Marsh, even went so far as to marry the originator, Mr. Murray.

Will the Space Shoe factory keep the mold of my foot and allow me to order a proper fit and comfort, a new mold made just for me? When the leather tops wear out, however, the shoes can be sent back to the factory to be re-leathered.

"Feet are functional," Mr. Travers says. "You don't find heels on airplanes or in the lounge on matresses, and so it should be with shoes."



Where Rhodesians crossed into Mozambique

From page 1

★ Smith invades Mozambique

The Foreign Office also confirmed dispatch of a message in another key direction — to South African Foreign Minister H. F. Botha. The contents of the message were not disclosed, but in a BBC interview, Dr. Owen said: "It is my profound wish that the South African Government will make it utterly clear to Mr. Smith [the Rhodesian Prime Minister] that this sort of action is intolerable and that they will dissociate themselves from it."

South Africa's role is crucial in any resolution of the overall situation in Rhodesia. If South Africa keeps open for the white minority government in Salisbury pipelines for its basic needs, Mr. Smith can probably hold out in the face of the black guerrilla threat much longer than most black Africans (and other outsiders) estimate. But if South African Prime Minister John Vorster "puts the screws" on Mr. Smith,

such action could in effect dictate Mr. Smith's decisions.

Mr. Smith's latest incursion into Mozambique — interestingly at a point close to the South African frontier — may well be addressed in three directions: (1) to Mr. Vorster, to show how much fight remains in the Rhodesians and how effectively Rhodesians can deal with these African guerrillas most distasteful to white South African opinion; (2) to these very guerrillas, to prove the undiminished military capability of the Rhodesian forces; and (3) to white Rhodesian opinion — most of which is now likely to rally behind him as enthusiastically as did Israeli opinion behind the Israeli Government after the Israeli swoop on Entebbe in Uganda to rescue hijacked airline passengers.

From page 1

★ One-man troika

One conclusion is obvious from these known facts. Mr. Podgorny can no longer interfere with or offer effective opposition to Mr. Brezhnev's policies. What was a three-corner collective leadership consisting of Messrs. Brezhnev, Podgorny, and Premier Alexei Kosygin is certainly down to a Brezhnev-Kosygin duumvirate in which Mr. Kosygin is clearly a subordinate to Mr. Brezhnev. A troika has once again become a one-man show in Moscow.

We also know that in public at least Mr. Brezhnev has been a cautious person who has avoided the type of bold and radical adventure in foreign policy which marked the Khrushchev era. Mr. Khrushchev lost his job precisely because he tried the Cuban missile gamble, and lost. Mr. Brezhnev has never done anything comparably bold or venturesome in either domestic or foreign affairs.

The boldest thing Mr. Brezhnev ever did was to permit the use of a Soviet sea and air lift for putting Cuban troops into Angola. What we do not know is whether he did this willingly or reluctantly. Does he really belong on the "hawk" or "dove" side of the Kremlin?

Commentary

One clue to the answer is that Mr. Podgorny was recently in Africa on a ceremonial tour which obviously aimed at strengthening Moscow's ties to black governments and nationalist movements there. He was an instrument of that policy becomes a non-person in the Kremlin.

A second clue is that this Soviet policy toward Africa is doing poorly. Only last week (May 27) the Angolan regime of Agostinho Neto which Moscow supported and Cuban troops set up was challenged by an attempted coup d'état. The rebels held the government's radio station for several hours. The rebels

From page 1

★ 'Nice day at the office?'

species. Thirty-five gallon pushcarts hold just enough water for one hour. With each of 47 owner-occupied homes receiving one drink every seven days, that adds up to a 1,045-gallon weekly gulp or an \$5,540-gallon guzzle a year.

To keep the tower from turning into a vertical jungle, as soon as plants attain certain heights they are whisked out and replaced with smaller successors. Six attached do office workers become to their leafy neighbors that they often look up placidly and ask: "Where are you taking Harry?"

If "Harry" is in good condition, "he" probably will be sold or leased to another client — for a mall, bank, hotel lobby, or some other large space. If "Harry" needs a vacation, likely as not the plant will be trucked back to the Jensen Nurseries in Florida.

Guaranteeing that plants will be kept in all times in a vigorous and attractive condition is a key feature in the success of this new business.

Just a few days or weeks of neglect and "there goes another rubber tree plant." One Boston hotel purchased a \$20,000 display of plant material and decided to leave the care to its own personnel. In the first year it lost half its investment.

The industry ranges from a few major concerns like Jensen, whose maintenance division has grown 35 percent in the last six years, to little sprouts like City Gardens Inc. in Watertown, Massachusetts, which are springing up all over the land.

In a second-story loft of an old burlap mill, George Patterson, president and Jay Ishikawa, vice-president, are doing a growing business. After only 7½ years of counseling architects, interior designers, and others on indoor plantings, their clientele numbers 70 firms and they are bidding on jobs as far away as Denver and Milwaukee.

They select appropriate plant material, import it from the South, stage it gradually down from the 10,000 foot-candles of light in the South to the 50 to 100 foot-candles found in many interior locations. Then they install and maintain the plants at a monthly charge ranging from \$4 to \$8 per plant.

By far their most spectacular client is the luxuriantly green atrium of the new Hyatt Regency Cambridge in Massachusetts, where several thousand plants are used for purely decorative purposes.

Standing beside the pool and fountain in the hotel's lobby, one may look up past 20-foot-tall ficus benjamins and let the eye climb tier upon tier of green vegetation as massed plantings of Swedish and grape ivy cascade over balconies.

After midnight when guests are slumbering, Mr. Patterson and his helpers go to work. With long-handled leather clippers they reach up and dust the trees, pinch back trashboards full of ivy, and pamper each plant, leaving it clean and refreshed.

What many amateurs do not realize is the vital relationship between light and a plant's need for water and fertilizer. The more light it receives, the more water and food it can use, and vice versa.

The plant care industry has no national organization, but one is needed, Mr. Patterson says, to standardize plant descriptions and specifications to make bidding on jobs more competitive.

Chinese can read
Shakespeare again

Peking
China has lifted a 10-year-old ban on Shakespeare and announced it is publishing a new Chinese language edition of his works.

The rehabilitation of the English bard, reported by the People's Daily newspaper May 25, marked another step in the recent liberalization of Chinese culture.

Like most foreign classics, Shakespeare's volumes disappeared from view during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s. Mao Tse-tung's wife, Ching Ching, became the country's effective cultural commissar and told down right puritanical, "revolutionary" guidelines.

The implications of all the above are in the direction of a defeat inside the Kremlin not just for Mr. Podgorny personally, but also for a forward or bold Soviet foreign policy. To say that the "hawks" have been defeated would probably be going too far. But it seems reasonable to think that Mr. Brezhnev's caution about overseas adventures and his emphasis on détente with Washington have been attacked, and have survived the attack. The probable attacker has lost out.

Incidentally, Africa is not the only place where Soviet investment in overseas adventures is falling to return dividends. Cuba is the second biggest overseas investment Moscow ever made. China was the biggest. That ended in a total loss. Over this past week Cuba's Fidel Castro continued to move toward Washington with poorly concealed eagerness. Was Cuban "ingratitude" another factor in Mr. Podgorny's downfall? It seems to have been a poor work for the "manifest destiny" clique in the Kremlin.

But to put more into Africa would increase friction between Moscow and Washington, and Mr. Brezhnev has made himself the symbol in Moscow of "détente." And there is a new President in the White House who seems to be less concerned about what happens to détente than were his predecessors. It meant much to Henry Kissinger. It seems to mean substantially less to the Carter-Vance foreign policy team.

However, officials in Washington said recently that those reports were false, that there have been no talks but only a diplomatic note from the Chinese after the United States asked China to lay out its position.

Most of the "China hands" interviewed in Washington indicated that they personally favor a vigorous pursuit of diplomatic normalization with Peking. But they all expressed varying degrees of doubt that normalization could be sold to both President Carter and Congress.

"It's a matter of intangible long-term benefits vs. hard short-term problems, and nobody likes that sort of tradeoff," one official said.

Taiwan issue is not the most important problem in U.S.-Chinese relations. Instead, he suggested, China's dominant concern regarding the United States was the American ability and will to resist the advances of the Soviet Union.

Too good to be true

The prospects for normalization were probably never quite as good as they were earlier portrayed in the United States earlier this year.

As recently as a month ago, reports suggested Chinese-U.S. relations were on the upswing and pointed to the beginning of "talks" or "negotiations" aimed at settling financial claims between the two countries.

the assurance from China that this step will not lead to an invasion of the island.

Diplomats here say China is aware of current attitudes in the United States and realizes that the hard-line position outlined by Chi Tong-kuei eliminates the possibility of diplomatic normalization in the near future.

Even before Vice-Premier Chi's statement, a senior U.S. official who strongly favors normalization complained that he and those who share his views are at a disadvantage because "the Chinese aren't making it easy for us."

A further indication that China has decided to put the normalization issue on the shelf came recently from Vice-Foreign Minister Yu Chan. He told a group of foreigners that the

From page 1

★ U.S.-China relations

and blunt. The timing was particularly significant, coinciding with the final stages of the Carter administration's formal review of U.S. policy toward China.

Observers here say they think the Vice-President's remarks were meant as a clear signal to the U.S. that China is unwilling to offer any assurance, direct or indirect, that it will not invade Taiwan in order to gain full diplomatic recognition from the United States.

Peking knows the score

In the United States, however, opinion polls and newspaper editorials as well as statements by congressmen suggest a broad consensus that normalization is desirable only if there is

Shoes this ugly have to be comfortable

By Roy Shigley



